

NUNC COGNOSCO EX PARTE



THOMAS J. BATA LIBRARY
TRENT UNIVERSITY



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2019 with funding from
Kahle/Austin Foundation

SOUTHERN
Historical Society Papers

NEW SERIES—NUMBER V
WHOLE NUMBER—XLIII

PART I
WITH STONEWALL JACKSON
BY JAMES POWER SMITH

PART II
JACKSON'S VALLEY CAMPAIGN
BY WILLIAM ALLAN

SEPTEMBER, 1920

PUBLICATION COMMITTEE
DOUGLAS S. FREEMAN GEORGE L. CHRISTIAN
H. R. McILWAINE

SECRETARY
H. J. ECKENRODE
B. F. JOHNSON PUBLISHING CO.
RICHMOND, VA.

KRAUS REPRINT CO.
Millwood, New York
1977

Reprinted with permission of the Virginia Historical Society

KRAUS REPRINT CO.

A U.S. Division of Kraus-Thomson Organization Limited

Printed in U.S.A.

With Stonewall Jackson

IN THE

Army of Northern Virginia

BY

JAMES POWER SMITH

CAPTAIN AND A. D. C.

AN ARTILLERY CORPORAL AND
THE GENERAL'S AIDE

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Chapter I. Coming Events and Their Shadows.....	1
Chapter II. Behind the Guns.....	7
Chapter III. A Great Surprise.....	15
Chapter IV. In the Valley and Out.....	20
Chapter V. Fredericksburg	27
Chapter VI. Winter Quarters at Moss Neck.....	35
Chapter VII. His Last Battle.....	44
Chapter VIII. With Lee at Gettysburg.....	55
Chapter IX. Some Elements of Jackson's Character.....	59
Chapter X. His Religious Character.....	67
Chapter XI. Jackson in <i>The Long Roll</i>	76
Chapter XII. Estimates of His Military Genius.....	83
Chapter XIII. Sketch of the Life of Mary Anna Jackson..	89
Chapter XIV. Jackson and His Mounts.....	96

APPENDIX

1. Action of the Stonewall Brigade.....	100
2. Letter of Major Henry A. Wise.....	102
3. A Paper Adopted by the General Assembly of the Pres- byterian Church	103
4. Battine's <i>The Crisis of the Confederacy</i> , a Review....	106
5. Letter of Lieutenant-Colonel R. P. Carson.....	110

STONEWALL JACKSON.

I.

Mould him in bronze! Son of our sod!
Mount him on steed, not a throne—
Leader of men! Servant of God!
Raise him on wall built of stone!

II.

Peerless the chieftain we know—
Fearless and matchless and true!
Jackson, no statue can show
Love that the South hath for you!

III.

Stone wall wert thou to our needs—
None can thy honor assail,
Wonders the world at thy deeds—
Strategy's master we hail!

IV.

Stand with thy comrades on earth—
Davis and Stuart and Lee.
Know that the land of thy birth
Prouder of none is than thee.

V.

Thou, 'mongst the first of the blest,
Early crossed—"right arm of Lee's"
Over the river to rest—
Rest, "'neath the shade of the trees."

—Beverly R. Tucker.

Southern Historical Society Papers.

NEW SERIES.

Richmond, Va , Aug., 1920.

VOLUME V.

WITH STONEWALL JACKSON

CHAPTER I.

COMING EVENTS AND THEIR SHADOWS.

A country wedding is a peaceful beginning for memories of a great war and its heroic men. Nothing could have been more peaceful and free from the alarms of war than the old brick mansion called Bellevue, among the green hills of Rockbridge, in the Valley of Virginia. It was in the summer of 1859 that a company of kindred and farm neighbors gathered here on the porches and in groups upon the lawn, to witness a happy wedding at noon and to send the bridal party off with affectionate congratulations, and then a rousing cheer.

The old home of the Browns and Morrisons looked westward down a valley of cultivated fields and off to the bold outline of Jump Mountain. On the wide porch the men of the company tarried for the summons to the ceremony in the parlors within.

Among them stood a tall, square-shouldered man, not much over thirty years of age, clad in the uniform of a major of artillery in the United States Army. The first impression of him was that he was a neighboring farmer who had come to the wedding in the uniform of his militia rank, holding that rank with pride. He was scrupulously neat, with large hands and feet, a broad face, well bearded, and blue eyes that were both serious and gentle.

A pleasant greeting from the unknown soldier held me for a moment, and then we sat together on the porch bench. His motions were stiff and somewhat awkward, though his manner was courteous and amiable. We chatted of the fair prospect and

of country life. As the conversation proceeded, the light and intelligence of an educated mind appeared; there were references to books, with a stray allusion to travel abroad, until it flashed upon my mind that my notion that the man was a farmer neighbor in unnecessary militia uniform needed amendment, and I was quite pleasantly attracted to a very interesting personality. At the first opportunity I sought the parlors to inquire who my new acquaintance was, and was told that he was Major Jackson, a Professor of the Virginia Military Institute; that he had won distinction in the war with Mexico, had traveled abroad, and altogether was a rare man, of whom some notable career might be anticipated.

Mrs. Jackson, who was with him, was a kinswoman of the family in whose home we were gathered, and was to all appearance her husband's opposite, for she was small, and not angular, very fair, and a most charming and graceful woman. The Jacksons and I were among the few to remain as guests after the bridal departure, and until the following day.

In the afternoon, the men of the party, leaving the house to the ladies, held the porch for a while, and then went off on a long walk down the country road and across the fields looking up to Jump Mountain, so aptly named, and the long range of the North Mountains. When the sun went down, we came back to the tea table and the parlors and a never-to-be-forgotten evening of conversation; the talk was strong, intelligent and bright, and not wanting in humor. The tall and bony professor in uniform, awkward and gentle, terse, direct and abrupt in utterance, most cheerfully at home with divines and scholars, was the coming Stonewall Jackson.

The impression of that first acquaintance was never effaced—that Jackson was a remarkable man, a man to attract and not to repel, not stern and austere, but in reality gentle and kindly, with a mind of clear discriminations and of fixed convictions, and a character that found its happiness in the highest ideals and duties of a sincere religion. Returning to his modest home in Lexington, there was much of happiness in Jackson's life as there was order and fidelity and duty. He was a student always, and much of his time was given to his books—books for his classroom teach-

ing of natural philosophy, and books of military science and history. And the threatening cloud of war which now gathered scarcely diverted him from the duties of the classroom and the drill-ground, or from the unbroken happiness of his home.

In the early months of 1861 quite remote and peaceful was the life of the scholastic community of Hampden-Sidney: forty or fifty divinity students pursued the quiet tenor of their life, read their Greek and Hebrew Bibles, and heard the theological discourses of their grave and reverend professors, "far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife." But in spite of their absorption, they were not wholly out of the world.

Over on the college campus, President Atkinson, a courteous gentleman, held the boys in hand, as he drilled them and organized the college company. A few seminary students, no longer controlling the strong spirit of determination to follow their State and the sisters of the new Confederacy, in the light of a few oil lamps marched and countermarched within the narrow limits of a wood cellar. Anxious and animated were the thoughts and conferences of the strong group of divines, Dabney, Peck, B. M. Smith, Henry C. Alexander, and J. M. P. Atkinson. Perhaps in all the land there was no nobler group, or one so strong and forceful in mental and spiritual ability, so various in type, so unlike in personal idiosyncrasy, and so united in conviction on the great and serious issues of the times.

One day in the early spring I found a crowd of the citizens of Prince Edward and Cumberland filling the streets of Farmville, awaiting the coming of a noon train with tidings from the legislature and the State convention in Richmond. With the train came their delegate, Colonel Jack Thornton, an accomplished and eloquent lawyer. From the hotel porch nearby he spoke to his constituents and friends. This I recall of what he said: "When Virginia in her first revolution and struggle for independence called for one to lead her sons, the county of Westmoreland on the Potomac responded and sent George Washington to be the leader of the Continental Army, and the father of his country; and now that the commonwealth has come to her second revolution, the same county of Westmoreland has responded and sent Robert Edward Lee to lead the sons of Virginia in defense of their

liberties and of their honor." It thrilled me to think that Virginia had found another Washington, gentleman and soldier, and given him to the new federation of States.

The close of a week in April found me in Richmond seeking the counsel of friends. For some years my parents had been residing in the North, while the sectional crisis found me in southern Virginia, at the completion of my studies in the theological school. What should I do? To remain in Virginia would mean separation from father and mother and all in our home, I knew not for how long. To leave the seminary and books, my friends and Virginia, would be deserting the cause that had my convictions and associating myself with those from whom I was now so thoroughly separated in all my views of the great civil conflict. Strong and loving friends quieted my troubled feelings and settled my determination to bide where I was.

One day in Richmond I sat in the gallery of a public hall looking on a convention of Virginia's ablest men, and heard the anxious and vigorous debates on the question of secession from the Union. Most vividly pictured in my memory is the tall and wiry form of Henry A. Wise, who stood on the platform, in great physical weakness, leaning on the back of a chair, and with impassioned speech stirred the convention into a storm of excitement.

On the Sunday of my Richmond visit came the alarming rumor that the United States warship Pawnee was ascending the James River, to shell the city of Richmond and stop the rebellious movement. It was just as the congregations were emerging from the churches, a fair and balmy spring day. The alarm bell rang from the old arsenal tower in the Capitol Square. Military companies gathered in their armories. Drums were rolling, and an artillery bugle called the Howitzers together in their armory on the first floor of the Spotswood Hotel on Main Street. The streets soon filled with men, alarmed and fiery in speech. Women came, fearful and tearful, to bid their soldier boys farewell. Old gentlemen came with flintlock muskets, and some left their dinner tables bearing carving knives. A lady, with hysterical cries, bore her babe to be hastily christened by her pastor, a crowd of men

with ropes dragged an old French cannon from the State arsenal to the front of the post-office building, where it lay for a long time after. A multitude of men and boys crowded the hills at Rocketts to wait for the coming Pawnee. A divinity student, who is nameless, carried a small revolver in one pocket and a handful of diminutive cartridges in the other. But the Pawnee never came, and had never wished to come.

Two or three weeks later found me in Winchester. The seminary session was closed in a somewhat informal way. My books, with all the notes and diplomas and relics of college and seminary days, were boxed and stored in a warehouse in Farmville. There they lay in safety until Appomattox, and, with that break-up, came to me the loss of my library and of all things ante-bellum.

To Winchester I went, on peaceful thought intent. But the town was near the border. At Harper's Ferry, troops had gathered, and already Major Jackson, my Rockbridge wedding discovery, now a colonel commanding the Virginia forces, was at the front.

One evening at Winchester, I came riding in from the country, and at a fork of the road, to my great surprise, struck the head of a marching column. It was the Eighth Georgia Regiment marching to Harper's Ferry. I had never before seen so large or so handsome a military array. There were the band and the flags, and the long winding column of soldierly men, with muskets glistening in the evening sun. At the head, well mounted, rode the handsome and courtly officer, Colonel Francis Bartow of Savannah, whose short military service was ended by his death at the first battle of Manassas. It was an astonishing experience to me to ride beside the colonel, at his request, and guide his fine regiment through the streets of Winchester to a camp in the fields beyond.

A week or more passed and the agitation grew. Day after day the troops came marching through the town on their way to Harper's Ferry. In one of the best of Winchester's many homes, the divinity student waited. The hope of entering the work of the ministry failed. Young friends and companions came by in their new uniforms, alert and intense. Five miles away the

Rockbridge Artillery was camped, with a respected clergyman for its captain. Young ministers and seminary, university and college students were in the ranks, and messages of invitation came, until at last I could tarry no longer. And one morning from the good home, with the tears and blessings of loving friends, a young student went out in a new uniform of Confederate gray, with red artillery cords. A new white haversack hung at his side filled with things our housekeeper knew well how to prepare. In one inside pocket was a Testament and in another a toothbrush. What more did a Confederate soldier ever want?

Not yet had the sun browned his skin, and his linen was so white that all men could see this was no veteran. It was my first march. Alone, for five miles, along the path beside the white turnpike road I picked my way with tender feet. What a change that hour was making in my life! I was leaving behind so much of books and quiet and peaceful thought and expectation. I was entering so unexpectedly on a new career, so novel, so strange, so strenuous and exposed. In the narrow lane leading to the camp in a grove at Stevenson's, I met a carriage load of bright Virginia girls returning from a visit to brothers, cousins and friends. One of them leaned from the carriage window and cried, "Oh, what a clean little soldier!" and I was hurt that I was not thought a veteran, and then grieved at the suggestion that so soon I was to be something else than *clean*.

In the camp I was greeted with a shout, and brought to the clerical captain, the Rev. Dr. Wm. N. Pendleton, who with cordial welcome soon had me enrolled and assigned to the detachment of Gun No. 2. Thus I, the child of a minister, from a quiet home in a manse, lately out of the cloisters of a divinity school, slight and pale, with no experience of outdoor life and no strength for rude toil and weary march, was a soldier of the Confederacy, a private in the artillery of the army of the Valley of Virginia, the proudest earthly distinction that has ever come to me.

CHAPTER II.

BEHIND THE GUNS.

That first night on the breast of Mother Earth—the memory of it has not faded. Under a friend's blanket, beneath the trees, with the stars twinkling through the branches, we did not find the rest we sought. The ground was so hard, the roots were so crooked, our thoughts were so active, the tattoo prayer by torch-light of the reverend captain was so pointed, that the night proved long, and our turnings and twistings were many; the broken sleep toward daybreak was very short indeed. But we conquered all these difficulties later on and slept on the ground many a night, long and peacefully, and wished no better bed.

The first drill in the manual of the gun was followed by the field battery drill, and the strenuous exercise in the warm sun brought weariness and a new fondness for Mother Earth. For a week the haversack was replenished from the Winchester home, and the raw camp fare came to me only gradually.

The Rockbridge Artillery was a company organized at Lexington, Virginia, whose captain was none other than the Rev. W. N. Pendleton, rector of the Episcopal church of that town. He was a West Point graduate who had left the profession of arms for the Christian ministry, and then was prompt to enter the art of war again in the service of Virginia. He was soon detached from the battery, often called Pendleton's battery, and became a brigadier-general and the chief of artillery of the Army of Northern Virginia. Our guns were the small brass pieces from the Virginia Military Institute. The officers and cannoneers were the young men and boys of Lexington and Rockbridge county, who proved so attractive that the ranks were rapidly recruited from the students of a number of educational institutions,—from the University of Virginia and Hampden-Sidney, and from the divinity schools of Alexandria and Prince Edward. It was a collection of

rare material, out of the best of homes, with family names and traditions and much gentle nurture. With a large element of farmers' sons, stalwart and vigorous, there mingled the slight figures and pale faces of the student boys; but the mixture became harmonious, and the combination grew to be one of rare strength and activity in the field. If the towns and cities largely furnished the incomparable infantry of the army of Lee, and the farms and plantations, where the sons were accustomed to live in the saddle and had young horses at command, the dashing cavalry of Ashby and Stuart, it was largely true that the artillery included the student boys, perhaps younger, certainly less vigorous physically, but capable and enduring soldiers.

There were intelligence and good habits and high moral purpose; and, with the rudeness and strain of camp and march, there came stronger muscle, and brown faces, and good digestion. In all parts of the service there was the same cordial mingling of elements, fused and welded by the one over-riding conviction of duty and the one compelling passion of patriotic purpose. But in our battery we thought we had the best. The artillery organization in gun detachments gave the natural lines for the formation of messes, and each detachment grew into a close fellowship and stood on its own record on every field.

We are surprised now when we recall the meagerness of equipment, and nevertheless the alacrity, the cheerfulness and confidence with which we went out from home and classroom to all the toils of the march and the perils of battle. There was not much insistence upon exact compliance with the uniform, and in the artillery there was not over much of regulation and discipline, but for war, defensive and of high moral devotion, there were better things, and things that stood for much in a long and bitter struggle. These student boys served behind the guns on many fields, drilled, skilful, obedient, patient, and persistent. At night they buried their dead and then marched to other fields and victories. At the last, all that were left of the Rockbridge Artillery stood as veteran soldiers beside their guns at Appomattox, and cried like little children at the surrender.

He was a slight figure in gray, with a few red trimmings, the

young cannoneer, but he wore a cheerful face and there was strong purpose behind it. On the caisson, until it was lost in battle, he carried a knapsack with a few articles of clean underclothing, strapped with a gray blanket. And stealthily stowed away in some limber chest was a little store of stationery for home letters, and a paperback book, to be read by all in turn and sometimes aloud. The first slap-jack given me for dinner was a cake of flour, partially fried in a pan of fat bacon. I nibbled about the brown edges and threw it, unbaked, against a barn door, where it stuck for days.

The first march was the rapid movement of General Johnston with the Valley Army to Manassas. It was on July 18, 1861, that we left Winchester and stepped out bravely beside our guns along the hot stone turnpike. At Millwood we halted for a brief rest late in the afternoon. A little party gathered on the lawn of a home belonging to a gentle lady, the kinswoman of some of us. Tea and biscuits were brought out by servants. Two fair daughters of the Rev. Peyton Harrison joined their cousins and friends. Bright and cheerful was the conversation as we stretched ourselves to rest on the cool grass,—we feel its coolness to-day—and quite confident were the promises that when a battle was fought somewhere beyond the Blue Mountains, we should all come back again, with the war over. Three of the little party never came back again, but fell on the field of Manassas. One was Captain Peyton Harrison of Martinsburg, and the two others were the brothers Conrad of the same town, who, as they fell, wrapped their arms about each other and so died for Virginia. Before the war was over the matron of that Millwood home and both the fair girls, as brave and true as their soldier kinsmen, had gone to rest beyond the rumors of war and all the pains of separation.

In the evening we waded the bright waters of the Shenandoah and marched up into the shadows of the mountain at Ashby's Gap. Far up in the shades of the mountain top, two of us sat on the steps of a cabin while an old negro mammy brought us buttermilk and cold hoe cakes from her scanty store. We are still blessing her kind heart. The early morning halt was at the vil-

lage of Paris in Loudoun county. Sometime before we reached Piedmont on the Manassas Railroad, ten or twelve of us were entertained at breakfast at the home of Mr. James Jones, a hospitable mansion, where were yet both abundance and elegance. Perhaps we had the captain's leave. Certainly we had our own consent and appetite.

Friday evening, July 19, after a long and urgent march, warm, weary, soiled, we found a bivouac in the pines near Mitchell's ford. On Sunday, the 21st, our battery stood long and impatiently in the open field, hearing the sounds of battle and receiving no orders. Then came sweeping by the commanding general, Joseph E. Johnston, with brilliant staff and cavalry escort. As he came near he called to Captain Pendleton to know what battery it was, and receiving the reply that it was the Rockbridge Artillery of the First Brigade, he gave orders, sharp and short, that we should move to the front.

At once we were in motion. Have you ever seen a battery move into action? It is a spirited sight. Cannoneers swing to their seats on the limber chests, horses are spurred and lashed into a gallop, officers draw their sabers and shout their orders in ringing tones. Soon we met the wounded, limping, or bearing bleeding arms, or with blood on the face, and some borne by friends. A few were utterly demoralized and declared that the battle was lost. Up a lane, then to the right in the open field a little below the crest, and we dismounted and unlimbered. And there was a battlefield—lines of blue, with volleys and wreaths of smoke, batteries belching flames—before us. Right and left of us were our own people of the First Brigade. Back of us rode Beauregard and his staff. To and fro passed Jackson, holding up a bandaged hand. Our guns were shotted and fired, and it seemed the greatest noise we had ever heard. As I ran from caisson to gun carrying shot, a minie ball flattened itself on the tire of the gun wheel and then struck my right arm, making a bruise like the blow of a stone. With some pride I carried that arm in a sling for a day or two. But our stay on the field was not long. Soon there came the charge of our brigade, and the guns were moved to the rear. We remained in battery near the Henry

house, while the battle was won and the victory turned into a rout and panic that swept all the way to the Potomac and beyond. Some of us were sent with horses to bring back the guns left by the enemy on the field. And there we saw the fields far stretched with dead and dying. As I placed a knapsack under the head of a poor sufferer in blue, he struggled feebly to draw something from his pocket. To his unuttered desire I drew out the small photograph of a woman and child, and while I held it up before his gaze, his eyes closed and the husband and father was gone.

What magnificent horses lay dead in their artillery harness! We were almost as glad to get the fine, brass-mounted harness as the brass guns. The Rockbridge Artillery at least was splendidly equipped in guns, ammunition, and harness.

How it rained the night of the day of the battle of Manassas! The cannonading had surely brought the clouds and the down-pour. The fine tarpaulin caisson covers of our captured guns were just what we needed. One we laid on the wet ground, and another we pulled over a whole detachment of men. While the rain came down, we talked and slept and waked and turned and slept again. Up at the Henry house the surgeons plied their art, and in the morning beneath the windows the heap of limbs taken from our wounded men was a picture which the years have not effaced.

In Sudley church many wounded were gathered, and in the grove around the church a guard surrounded the prisoners. Two of us from the battery obtained leave to go over to Sudley church the day after the battle, and the scene was strange indeed. In a shop we found a Federal soldier who had lost both legs, and who yet spoke cheerily, as one who thought all was not gone. He would get back to his home in the State of New York, he said, and then learn some trade for his hands, and so make a living. While I was standing in front of the church, a carriage drove up, in which were two ladies with large baskets of home comforts for the wounded in the church. We helped them with their baskets,—informally introducing ourselves with the statement that we were from Pendleton's battery. As we carried the heavy basket to the church door, there came a scream; and,

turning, we saw that one of the young ladies from the carriage had rushed across the guard line and was embracing a prisoner wearing the red trousers of the Brooklyn Zouaves. She was greatly excited and distressed. By leave of the sergeant of the guard, we approached her with proffer of such assistance as we could render. "Oh," she cried, "this is my brother, and he is in the Northern army! What shall I do? Can I take him home with me?" It was a pitiful sight. The son of a Virginia home had come back bearing arms against his State, and the sister was overcome with grief and mortification, even as she clung to the brother she loved. By the consent of the colonel commanding, she was permitted to take her brother to the carriage for a brief interview. She pleaded with me to secure his immediate release, but this of course was impossible. The courteous officer spoke kindly, assuring her that the brother was at least safe from the perils of battle and would probably soon be exchanged. In the conversation she told her brother that we were from the battery of Dr. Pendleton, under whom he had been at the Episcopal High School near Alexandria. As he hung his head in shame and made no reply, he seemed indeed a renegade, unworthy of his home and his school, and undeserving of the love of his Virginia sister. We never heard of him again. This was an incident that had many counterparts in the War between the States, in which the members of many families took opposite sides! Some there were from the North who were good soldiers of the Confederacy, and some that held high rank and gave distinguished service.

The camp at Centreville, on the open hillside, has memories of a great night storm of wind and rain, when tents were overturned and half-dressed boys were drenched and chilled to the bone, and the night was black as midnight seldom is. It was Bob Lee's voice which led the song of Sunday-school days: "Oh, I'm glad I'm in this army!"

All sang and forgot their misery and sang again until the storm was over and the day broke through the clouds.

There was also the first grand review, when Prince Napoleon and his suite rode along the lines in gray, and General Beaure-

gard, with his fine staff in red caps, made a brilliant picture to our eyes, to whom military parade was all so new. There was the artillery picket, when our section of guns held a position near the Accotink River, on the road to Alexandria. Sent with rations for five days, we were left for other five days without rations, and the roasting ears of the Ravensworth place were our most wholesome food. They were roasted in the shuck, and when a broken skillet from an old Federal camp was found, they were stewed in this implement, set on its side between the stones. There were no fighting and alarms, but we had a merry time. The great caisson covers thrown over a ridge pole and set on two stout forks were converted into a shelter, and one night when a storm of rain made sleeping impossible, we sat through the night on our blanket rolls and talked. An animated debate on the American tariff system sprang up, which ended in a burst of anger between two men at opposite ends of the shelter. In the struggle blows were struck that always hit the wrong man, and the forks were thrown over, and the wet shelter came down in a heap upon all of us. When at last in the darkness the tent was righted and peace restored, the two pugilistic debaters were by unanimous vote and effort put out into the rain to take care of each other, and to settle forever, if they could, the American tariff system. One was the son of a Virginia congressman and fell in battle, and the other survived to be a member of the West Virginia legislature.

It was in October that Jackson was made a major general, and early in November he was ordered to take command of the Valley district, with headquarters at Winchester. At first it was not designed to send the brigade back to the Valley. When the day for his departure came, the brigade was drawn up at Centreville and the general made his brief and only speech. His farewell to the troops was a striking scene. The long gray line of his five Virginia regiments stood silent, as the general, for whom they had already made a great name, came forward. From the saddle he said:

"I am not here to make a speech, but simply to say farewell. I first met you at Harper's Ferry, at the commencement of the

war, and I cannot take leave of you without giving expression to my admiration of your conduct from that day to this, whether on the march, in the bivouac, or on the bloody plains of Manassas, where you gained the well-deserved reputation of having decided the fate of the battle. In the army of the Shenandoah you were the First Brigade; in the army of the Potomac you were the First Brigade. You are the First Brigade in the affections of your general, and I hope by your future deeds and bearing that you will be handed down to posterity as the First Brigade in this our second War of Independence. Farewell!" And waving his hand, Jackson galloped from the field.

CHAPTER III.

A GREAT SURPRISE.

Up from the meadows, rich with corn,
Clear as the cool September morn,

The clustered spires of Frederick stand,
Green walled by the hills of Maryland.

Round about them orchards sweep,
Apple and peach tree fruited deep.

Fair as a garden of the Lord,
To the eyes of the famished rebel horde.

The beautiful picture is well taken, Mr. Whittier, and the lines are worthy of a poet save the ugly words, "rebel horde;" for the army of the South was well-organized, equipped and fed when it entered Frederick, and from its superb commander to its last private there was not a rebel in it. A fairer country we have not seen, and Frederick with its white walls and its spires was a lovely gem in an emerald setting.

But Barbara Frietchie, good old soul, was blind and bedridden in her humble home. And Jackson never passed along the street where she lived, and Barbara had no flag and could not have waved it if she had. And Jackson saw no waving of a Federal flag by any woman, and would not have ordered any firing if he had. Women and children cheered and jeered and waved little flags to their hearts' content, and Confederate soldiers laughed and applauded. When a Confederate cavalryman came dragging through the streets the Stars and Stripes, he was personally and severely punished by General Bradley T. Johnson in the midst of a crowd of the people of the town.

It was on September 6, 1862, that the Army of Northern Virginia forded the Potomac at White's above Leesburg, and its vanguard under General Johnson, a native of the Maryland town, rode into its streets and waved the Confederate flag.

In a grove by the roadside, a mile or two beyond the town, the Rockbridge Artillery made its camp. On Saturday, wandering through the town, I was found by friends of my parents and taken to their hospitable home. A private Confederate soldier, after that summer campaign, marching and camping and battling, was not prepared to dine in evening dress with gentle ladies in a home of elegance. Jacket there was none, only a soiled shirt of dark flannel, and nether garments neither whole nor to be trusted. But the solicitation for my mother's sake was so affectionate and urgent, and the self-respect under the flannel so steadfast, not to speak of the hunger, also under the flannel, that I found myself seated in the parlor I had known in childhood. My surprise and chagrin were great when there came in to dine no less a party than General Robert E. Lee and his staff, well-dressed and toileted. The private soldier made an effort to escape, but was captured and brought back; and, seated for protection by the side of the lady of the home, he permitted the generals and colonels to do the talking and ate a dinner not yet forgotten.

On the Sunday afternoon, with the captain's leave, I sought the church where my father had once been pastor, and where, in my childhood, I had slept with my head in my mother's lap. From the gallery, among the boys in gray, I heard the sermon of the Rev. Dr. Ross, the Presbyterian pastor. When the service was ended, and I sought my horse at the church front, behold, it was gone! After fruitless search there was nothing left to do but to return to camp and tell Lieutenant Graham that the horse he had kindly permitted me to ride to church had been stolen. Monday was spent in the town looking for the lost horse. In the afternoon it was found in a livery stable on a back street, claimed and proved, and taken away, with great relief. As I rode from the town out to the artillery camp, I met the ambulance of the battery. The driver called and gave me a penciled note from Captain Poague saying that an order from the headquarters of the corps directed that Corporal Smith should report promptly to General Jackson. It was a matter of great astonishment. Turning back into the town for inquiry, I learned that

the corps headquarters were two or three miles south, toward the Monocacy river. The general's tents were found on a hillside in a grassy field, with the general himself standing in front, surrounded by a party of ladies and gentlemen from the town. Unwilling to present myself before this party, I attempted a flank movement, hoping to find some member of the staff to whom I could report and from whom I could learn the object of my summons. But the movement was intercepted. From among the ladies, the general waved his hand, and cried, "Come this way, sir!" And that way I had to go, with all my unfitness for such a public presentation. Shaking hands with the reluctant corporal, Jackson requested him to take a seat in his tent until he came.

What had I done? Was I to be reprimanded by the great Stonewall himself? Was there something in the conduct of my battery to be overhauled? Had the general heard that our captain had permitted the men to ride on the caissons in fording the Potomac? I was perplexed and dazed. In a few minutes the general came in, and seating himself on the wooden stool brought from the mess hall of the Virginia Military Institute, he leaned his elbow on the little camp table with his face in his hands. Then with a pleasant smile and rapid utterance he said: "I have merely sent for you to ask whether you would accept the position of *aide-de-camp* on my staff." It was like a clap of thunder from a clear sky. If he had said that I, an artillery corporal, was to be a major general, I could not have been more surprised. I was dazed and lost in my amazement.

A vacancy existed, he said. Captain George Junkin, a most gallant aide, had been captured, and, in the exigencies of the campaign, he needed staff assistance. When I rallied from my surprise and told him that I was without military education and had no knowledge of the duties of a general's aide—that I was only an artillery corporal and had expected to continue in the ranks to the close of the war, if I survived—he interrupted me by saying that he had thought of all this and wished my services. I then told him that if he thought I could serve him and the Confederacy in this way, I could but submit to his judgment. Glan-

cing at my forlorn clothing, he smiled and said that I should perhaps need some outfit, and asked me when I should be ready to report for service. I told him of a reserve of clothing which friends had boxed and stored at Gordonsville: if I could secure that, I should at least be clean and rehabilitated. He asked how long it would take me to go to Gordonsville and return. "Three days to go and three to return," was my answer. With some hesitation, and remarking that in the active operations then before the army he needed me at once, he directed me to report to him at seven the next morning and he would tell me whether I could go.

The corporal went away quite overwhelmed by the sudden change that had come in his life. Little had he thought of any rise out of the ranks as a possible thing, and never had it occurred to him that he would one day be the aide of a major general. Scarcely was he mounted when the necessity of having a horse of his own came to his mind, and, turning toward the camps, he sought the tent of a kinsman, Major John Broome Sherrard of the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment. When my story was told, my warm-hearted cousin congratulated me and opened to me a roll of Confederate money. He remarked that he had just heard that a horse could be bought for Confederate money in Frederick city, and counseled me to buy one at once. Though the night was fast approaching, at one of the stables I had visited that day in pursuit of the lost horse of my friend I purchased for \$200, in Confederate currency, a young black mare. She was sound, of medium size, of good spirit and very active, and not well-broken. The first time I rode her beside General Jackson, she started and kicked at him, striking his foot. To the end of our life together, he thought I rode a kicking horse and invariably pulled away from me when I rode up to him.

At the battery camp that night I found my mess somewhat displeased that I had failed to be in place to cook the supper, as it was my turn to do. After I had found a remnant of camp biscuits and was stretched on the grass among my comrades, one of them sat up to ask why I had been summoned to "Old Jack's headquarters." Not a word did they believe of my story.

Finally one of them went to Captain Poague, and finding it all true and that I was to leave my company and comrades the next morning, he made public announcement, and I was hustled about and borne on the shoulders of the shouting boys until the captain sent a peremptory demand for order, or, "the whole lot, aide-de-camp and all, would be sent to the guard house."

Despite my natural gratification at the unexpected promotion and visions of the new and wider service to which I had been called, I was filled with regret that I was to leave the artillery, my company, and my mess. The big guns were a great attraction, and we had had some thrilling experiences with ours. The company was exceptional in its material, and a nobler lot of boys never marched or fought together or made a happier camp. There was a regretful feeling that I was leaving them to whatever hardship or peril might come, these boys who had shared with me every comfort that had fallen to their lot.

The general consented to my ride to Gordonsville; I was introduced to his staff and a written leave of absence for six days was given me. So, alone I started and away I rode through Leesburg and Warrenton and Culpeper, finding wayside friends to give me food and forage. But there was no box of clothing for me at Gordonsville: all things in the warehouses had been overturned in some time of haste. Just as I became convinced that the box was not to be found, a train came by on its way to Richmond and I secured a seat. Late as it was when I reached the home of friends in Richmond, two faithful ladies of the house set their hands to work while I slept; and all needful clothing, shoes, cap, and even sword and belt, and a well-filled haversack, were ready for me when I left on a morning train for Gordonsville. My black mare had been well cared for at the home of Mrs. Willis near Rapidan, and I began the return ride to the army. At Warrenton I heard rumors of the movement west of Frederick, and then of the capture of Harper's Ferry. So turning my road, I spent a night in Rappahannock and the next morning passed through Chester Gap to Front Royal and Winchester.

CHAPTER IV.

IN THE VALLEY AND OUT.

The surrender of Harper's Ferry to Jackson's skilful investment occurred on September 15, with 11,000 prisoners, 13,000 stands of arms, more than sixty field guns, innumerable horses and wagons, and a large amount of stores. The battle of Sharpsburg followed on September 17, 1862, a hotly contested field, with large losses on both sides which left the two armies exhausted. Lee retired south of the Potomac, and McClellan rested on the field, with no spirit for advance. Except the cavalry pickets "not a single Federal soldier was sent across the river."* The suspension of active hostilities lasted from Sharpsburg until Jackson crossed the Blue Ridge and joined Longstreet on the Rappahannock, from the middle of September until early in December, nearly three months.

Returning from my visit to Richmond in pursuit of my needed outfit, absent at Harper's Ferry and at Sharpsburg—the only battles of the Army of Northern Virginia from which I was absent—I joined General Jackson on September 20, as he re-crossed the Potomac after Sharpsburg, and was most cheerfully greeted and introduced to a number of general officers and to Jackson's staff. My effort to explain the delay in reporting for duty was pleasantly interrupted, and without further ceremony the young staff recruit fell into such service as came to him. That night he slept in the general's tent, and in the morning accompanied Jackson on a visit to Lee, to whom he was introduced. General Lee congratulated him that he was to be with so great and good a commander, and commended to the young aide a large basket of fine peaches at his tent door, the first of many headquarters hospitalities, of which General Lee was never forgetful.

Very soon our corps headquarters were established in the fields near the village of Bunker Hill on the road between Mar-

*Henderson's *Stonewall Jackson*, II, p. 366.

tinsburg and Winchester. The four divisions of the command, making the army of the Shenandoah, were encamped on the banks of the Opequon, resting, recruiting, gathering supplies and arms, and bringing in the stragglers: all this activity was rapid, successful, and confident. There were one or more calls to arms and movements toward the Potomac, besides a visit the general made to Martinsburg, when his coat buttons were carried off by enthusiastic young women, to his evident embarrassment. There was the visit of General Wolseley of the British Army, with Mr. Lawler of the *London Times*, and Mr. Vizetelli of the *Illustrated London News*, when Jackson talked to these English visitors of Durham Cathedral and its Bishops Palatine, and of Yorkminster and its lancet windows, and told them nothing of his campaigns and battles.

One morning, at sunrise, General J. E. B. Stuart came riding and shouting across the fields, returning from his raid into Pennsylvania; and a few days later Bob, his servant, followed, riding and leading the general's fine horses. In the cavalry raid, Bob had been cut off from the column, and hiding himself and his horses in some forest, feeding them by night, he had escaped capture and at last made his way through the lines with the horses.

One day at Bunker Hill, the notable female scout, Belle Boyd, made her appearance on horseback, with the escort of a young Confederate cavalryman. She was well-mounted and quite a soldierly figure, and asked to see General Jackson. But the general was averse, and more than once refused to see the young woman, of whose loyalty he was not altogether assured. She was much disappointed and went away quite angry with the aide who had denied her admission to the general's tent. Some days after this she sent a message that if ever she caught that young man in Martinsburg she would cut his ears off.

There was, as the season advanced, serious lack of clothing and blankets among the troops, and with some success most vigorous appeals and efforts were made to supply the want. The general himself was remembered by many gifts for his comfort from many kindly hands. At Bunker Hill General

Stuart gave our corps commander a handsome suit, a general's uniform. Colonel White, of Leesburg, sent him a handsome sword and gilded spurs, and Colonel Blanton Duncan, of Kentucky, presented him with a pair of imported field glasses. There was no end to the socks and gloves, knit by good and loving women, and there was a great roll of gray cloth for suits to come. So many were the stragglers who wandered through the country, absent from duty and helping themselves to fruit and poultry, that each division sent out guards to gather these wanderers, and there was some contention among the division commanders, each guard arresting the men of other divisions than their own. When Rodes' guard brought in a full detachment of Early's men, Early's guards retaliated by bringing in a whole regiment of Rodes' men found bathing and washing their clothes on the banks of the Opequon.

Very pleasant are the memories of the evenings when we of the staff rode from Bunker Hill to "the Bower," the home of the Dandridges. While General Stuart slept on the parlor sofa, his staff, by the music his own couriers supplied, danced until the "wee sma' hours" with the fairest of the fair.

Sometime late in October, the corps headquarters were put in motion, as were the divisions of the corps, and both were moved about in a way confusing and sometimes alarming to the Federal commanders on the line of the Potomac and Washington. For a few days we were near Berryville, and I recall one Sunday when the general, while sitting upright in a conspicuous pew in the Episcopal church of that village, fell sound asleep.

About November 18, when the staff came in from various missions, we found headquarters established at Millwood in Clarke county, with our tents set on the lawn of "Carter Hall," the residence of Mr. Nathaniel Burwell. As we gathered about a camp fire in the chilly evening and compared notes, we discovered that our four divisions, with trains of artillery, ambulances, and wagons, were all on lines converging on Millwood, a fact suggesting the probability that on the following day the command would move over the Blue Ridge by Ashby's Gap, perhaps to strike the Federal Army of the Potomac, then centered at War-

renton. At once I was seized with the desire to go to Winchester, very much my home in the Virginia Valley, and I went to General Jackson's tent and said: "General, as we are going over the mountains to-morrow, I wish to go to Winchester in the morning." He hesitated and then, smiling, said: "Are you going over the mountains, captain?" Quite taken back, I replied: "Well, I do not know whether we are or not, but we of the staff have concluded from the disposition of the troops and trains that we are to march over the Blue Ridge to-morrow." The General again hesitated and smilingly said: "Very well, captain, you may go to Winchester if you wish." As I bade him good evening and turned away, he called me back and added: "Don't tell anyone, if you please, that we are going over the mountains." Confident that he was throwing me off and that we were right in believing that Jackson's whole command would go over Ashby's Gap, at daybreak next morning I was in the saddle and off to Winchester. Breakfasting there and attending to my errand, whatever it was, about 9 A. M. I was on my return on the Mill-wood pike. A few miles from town, turning a curve in the road, I rode directly into the general, with the whole retinue of his staff and couriers. Smiling broadly, he greeted me: "Captain, are you going over the mountains this morning?" And the whole party had their laugh at my expense.

My belief then and now is that Jackson was awaiting orders from Lee to cross the Blue Ridge and attack the Federal army in Fauquier. But not receiving such orders, he moved his headquarters again, and this time to Winchester. His chief quartermaster, Major Harmon, secured a vacant mansion, giving out that General Jackson would there make his headquarters and spend the winter in Winchester.

Again we were deceived. That evening as the night came on and the snow fell, a courier arrived, spattered with mud and mounted on a wearied, snow-covered horse, and bearing a sealed letter. Thinking it a dispatch from some cavalry picket on our front, I opened it and was surprised to find it a letter signed, "Robert E. Lee." In a few minutes Jackson came from his room, quite erect and aroused. "Who opened this letter, young gentle-

men?" On my feet at once, I replied: "I opened it, general, supposing it to be a dispatch from some cavalry command." He said, "Captain Smith, you and Colonel Pendleton come into my room." There we discovered that General Lee, after giving reasons for taking a defensive line on the Rappahannock, instead of the North Anna river, had instructed Jackson to move his command, not east over Ashby's Gap, but south on the Valley turnpike, and, crossing the Blue Ridge, to march by Orange to Fredericksburg. So our stay for the winter in Winchester was for one night only, and on the morning of November 20, the town woke up to a great disappointment, for Stonewall Jackson and all of his command had gone at daylight.

The general and his whole cavalcade visited the field of the battle of Kernstown, going over in detail the operations of the engagement, the general commending the service there of the Rockbridge Artillery. Going up the valley from Kernstown, by Middletown, and Strasburg, he turned east at New Market and over the Massanutton Gap, crossed the Luray Valley, and went up into Fisher's Gap of the Blue Ridge. Early on the clear, cold morning of November 25, the staff came out of their tents quite on the top of the mountain, at Fisher's Gap, and looked west over the Valley and the mountains, as Spotswood and his knights had gazed westward at Swift Run Gap, and then east far and away over the plains of Madison and Orange. There was a little delay in our gathering at the out-of-door breakfast table. When at length the general came, to our surprise in a new uniform and sword, he blushed and smiled, saying, "Young gentlemen, this is no longer the headquarters of the Army of the Valley, but of the Second Corps of the Army of Northern Virginia." He had taken the occasion on the mountain top to announce the new title of his command, and to appear in new and elegant uniform. When he was next seen by large bodies of his troops, on the lines from Fredericksburg to Hamilton's Crossing, he was not recognized for some time.

The following night our tents were pitched on the Willis place, near Orange Courthouse, and, on the morning of Saturday, November 26, the general, with one aide and four or five couriers,

left the staff to accompany the marching troops and set out for the headquarters of General Lee. We rode down the Orange plank road by Verdierville and Parker's and at noon rested at the home of the Rev. Melzi Chancellor, near the Wilderness church. After our horses had been fed and we had dinner, we set out again, reaching Salem church in the late afternoon. Snow was falling, and one of the most dismal scenes of war was presented to us: the road was quite filled with wagons and carts and people on foot, unhappy refugees from Fredericksburg. Old Salem church was crowded, and around it shelters of quilts and blankets had been erected, under which the banished women and children crouched in the bitter cold.

Turning at Salem church to the right, we passed "Sunnyside," the home of the Frenches, continued on to the Telegraph road, and on the Mine road, in pine woods on the land of Mr. Muscoe Garnett, we found in the snow the tents of the army headquarters. The arrival of Jackson from the Valley created quite a stir, and General Lee came promptly to welcome him. At the suggestion of General Jackson I rode back to the home of Mr. Garnett to ask lodging for the night. As I stood at the door and knocked, the old gentleman looked out and in an irritated tone cried: "What do you want here?" When I told him that two officers sought lodging for the night, he said: "I have no room for anyone; my house is full." But when I mended my hold and spoke of General Jackson, the door flew open wide, the light of a blazing wood fire swept out of the opening, and the irate and impulsive old gentleman cried: "What General Jackson? Stonewall Jackson? Is he here? Go and tell him to come at once; all my home is his, sir!" So the general and his aide, cold, wet, weary, and hungry, were soon comfortably seated before the blazing fire, among the best of old Virginia people. After a good supper, the general went to sleep in a bed, and the aide rested on the rug before the fire and thought he was in Paradise.

Breakfast over, the general with his aide and couriers rode down the Telegraph road into the fated town of Fredericksburg. It was Sunday morning, but no church bells were ringing. The streets were almost deserted, as were the homes. Barksdale's

Mississippi brigade still picketed the river front and a few soldiers were on the streets. We sat in our saddles at the corner of the bank and the churches. I watered my horse in the river at Major Kelly's. We dismounted to dine, I believe, at the home of Mr. John Scott, now the residence of Dr. Randolph Carmichael. Returning by way of the Telegraph road, we found our headquarters at "Sunnyside." The general and a few of his staff accepted Mrs. French's invitation to supper, and when the household and guests assembled in the parlor, the big family Bible was brought to the great soldier, and all knelt while he conducted the Sunday evening family worship.

CHAPTER V.

FREDERICKSBURG.

The Second Corps of the Army of Northern Virginia, which had been the Army of the Valley, on November 29 moved from Orange Courthouse by Brock's crossroad. Crossing the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad at Summit, the four divisions encamped on the Caroline hills from Grace church to Rappahannock Academy and Port Royal. Corps headquarters were established on the Chandler place near Guinea Station. As the First Corps, under General Longstreet, held a strong position back of the town of Fredericksburg, the Second Corps now formed the right wing of Lee's army. A. P. Hill's division lay near Hamilton's Crossing, Taliaferro's on the hills near Grace church, Ewell's, under command of General Early, at Moss Neck, and D. H. Hill's on the hills back of Port Royal—the corps guarding the southside of the Rappahannock river. The cavalry, under General J. E. B. Stuart, watched the flanks of the long line of defense, from the falls above Fredericksburg to Port Royal.

One morning shortly afterwards the general and the staff rode from Guinea Station across Caroline county to the hills back of Port Royal, from which they had a fine view of the river and the Federal gunboats threatening to ascend. The river with its southern hills made a strong line of defense, but afforded no facility for an aggressive movement, so much more after the methods of Jackson's strategy. He preferred retirement south to the line of the North Anna river, where he might readily assume the offensive and reap the fruits of victory. This plan, which Lee likewise preferred, was over-ruled by the Confederate government.

Early in the morning of December 11, Burnside opened his guns from the Stafford heights on the little city, deserted largely by the inhabitants and held along the river front by Barksdale's

Mississippians. On the next morning, December 12, the Federal army began to cross to the southern banks, with positions at the town and below. By noon A. P. Hill was moved to the front at Hamilton's Crossing, Taliaferro following, and a defensive line had been formed at the line of the river hills, its left joining the right of Hood's division of Longstreet's line. In the morning couriers had been sent from headquarters at Guinea Station with orders to Early and D. H. Hill to move at once to Hamilton's, and Jackson anxiously awaited information of their coming. As he grew impatient, I was sent with couriers down the river road to report their movement. Again and again I sent couriers from the river road to the hills and the roads back of them, but learned nothing of the movement ordered. At Moss Neck church I found a cavalry regiment, the Tenth Virginia, and Colonel Lucius Davis, its commander, reported that he had heard of no movement of the troops in the camps below him. Riding rapidly, I found Early's division back of Skinker's Neck, resting quietly in camp. Early himself was dining at the quarters of General Harry Hays, and no courier had brought him instructions to march. In haste I repeated the instructions and urged the general to break camp immediately and move on the hill roads to Hamilton's. Riding as fast as I could, I came on General D. H. Hill in camp at Rappahannock Academy and repeated the instructions for the movement to Hamilton's. While the drums were rolling, I had the opportunity to feed and water my horse and accept the hospitality of Hill's staff. Dispatches announcing the marching of these two divisions, with the time, I sent to General Jackson in haste.

Returning on one of the hill roads, for the first time I saw the "Moss Neck" mansion, the Corbin place, where the general and his party spent the winter following, and on the porches met the ladies we were to know so well. At midnight I arrived at headquarters, near the Hamilton house, and the two divisions, marching all night, reported by sunrise on the morning of December 13, and were sent into the lines already formed by A. P. Hill and Taliaferro.

On the morning of the 13th I rode with Jackson to Lee's

position on top of the hill near the Telegraph road, since known as Lee's Hill, and well remember the grand old chief, his serious, dignified demeanor, his cheerful greeting of Jackson, then of their studying together what little they could see through the fog lying over the town, and Lee's confident words at parting. General Lee has since told in Fredericksburg how from that hill he looked anxiously to see whether there was yet standing back of the Chatham house the chestnut tree, under which long years before he had addressed the young woman who became his wife.

As Jackson rode back along the lines, the enthusiasm of the troops was simply boundless. It was impossible to restrain the cheers, which rolled like waves up and down the ranks and broke out again and again, revealing to the enemy the exact positions of our lines and where they ended. He wore the new and handsome coat, the present of General J. E. B. Stuart, and a new cap sent him by his wife, with a wide braid of gilt about it, which he disliked exceedingly but which he feared it might offend Mrs. Jackson to remove—but which he did remove that winter at Moss Neck to bind about the head of his little friend, Janie Corbin. He had a new officer's saber and spurs, sent him by Colonel White of the cavalry. Altogether he looked so very "spick and span" that the boys could scarcely believe their eyes, so unlike was he to the battered, sunburnt "Old Jack" of the Valley. But the sorrel horse he rode, and the same following of staff and couriers reassured the troops and they were more than ever delighted with him. The unwonted splendor of their great general was greeted as a good omen on the morn of battle. Everywhere there was confidence, impatient expectation, and the best of spirits.

After a morning of heavy fog and mist, through which we could plainly hear the orders of marching troops and the wheels of artillery but could see nothing, about 10 or 10:30 A. M. the mist lifted suddenly, the fog dispersed, and the sun shone brightly over the great valley plain of the Rappahannock on as grand a martial array, perhaps, as has ever been seen in America. The fluttering flags, the long lines of glittering bayonets, the well-

dressed officers, the prancing horses, the roll of drums, the notes of the bugles that controlled the skirmish line,—it was more like a holiday parade than is often seen on any day of real battle.

“Ain’t you frightened, general?” Longstreet smilingly asked Jackson. “Perhaps I’ll frighten them after awhile,” replied “Old Jack.”

On the Confederate right where Jackson held the wooded slopes above Hamilton’s, the battle was very different from that at Marye’s hill in rear of the town. Not long after ten o’clock on the 13th, the corps of General Reynolds advanced with flags flying. Meade was in the center, supported by Gibbon on the right and Doubleday on the left. Reaching a point in front of our right, the fine array, with steady marching, wheeled and moved farther to the front of our center, until when opposite a tongue of woods leading out across the railroad, the column wheeled again and charged upon the Confederate lines. The point was happily selected for them, for along the railroad our line was left with a gap in this piece of woodland and the brigade that should have filled it—Gregg’s—had been thrown back in the woods with a view to supporting the front line on either the right or left, as might be needed. Through this gap the Federal columns poured, pushing back the flanks of our lines at the railroad and falling rather suddenly upon General Gregg, who was himself mortally wounded while his line was broken. Irretrievable damage might have been wrought, had not Early and Taliaferro swept in upon them and turned them back with considerable loss. Indeed if Meade had been supported by the 25,000 men of the Sixth Corps who lay idle on the river road, the struggle would have been far more extensive and the issues would have hung in a more even balance. It was the same great mistake there as at Fredericksburg—the sending of a small force to do what was almost impossible for a whole army to accomplish.

I remember my ride across the field under fire to bear orders to Pelham to retire his guns and how cool and quiet he was as he sat on his horse in open field in the center of the converging fire of a hundred cannon. I remember the fine, handsome blooded mare, the finest animal I ever mounted, that fell under me, cut

through by a large piece of shell which sundered the saddle girth under my right foot, and how Major H. K. Douglas came riding through the woods without control of his horse because a shell had passed under his horse's neck and cut both bridle reins. I remember the lad from my old battery who hid his convulsed face in the mane of my horse as he told me with sobs that that lovely boy, that sweet-tempered young gentleman, Randolph Fairfax, had just been killed by a shell at his gun—my old gun. He was one of my old detachment in all the battles of the Valley.

I likewise remember the congratulations of victory, and the general's immediate preparations for attack. I carried the orders that afternoon to two of our division commanders to prepare for an advance at five o'clock at a signal to be given by one of Poague's guns. The Confederate lines moved out with confidence into the open fields, until General Lee came riding down the lines and counseled Jackson against his intended effort to "drive them into the river."

Reaching our wagons about 9 P. M., I had not been under my blanket on the ground fifteen minutes when I was summoned and General Jackson sent me on a night-long errand among his generals about rations and ammunition. Old Jubal Early swore like a trooper when I found him in the dark woods and told me to tell Jackson that he had no powder but that his men could hold the front line with their bayonets alone if Jackson would take away "the Light Division" of A. P. Hill. About daylight I rode over to the Yerby house with General Jackson to see the dying General Gregg.

On the afternoon of Monday, the 14th, a truce was asked by the enemy, and I was in charge of part of the Confederate line with Lieutenant-Colonel Sumner from the other side. On the morning of the 15th when the fog cleared away, we found the field deserted. Before noon lines of pickets were again formed along the river banks. And the battle of Fredericksburg was gone into history. One of the largest armies of modern times, splendidly equipped with all that money and the resources of the country could supply, had met a terrible defeat, with enormous losses of men and arms, at the hands of a force about half its size.

When night came over the battlefield of Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862, we were in our saddles on the hill near Hamilton's Crossing. General Jackson, with his staff and some couriers, turned to leave the field and find our headquarters wagons, and he directed me to go to Mr. Yerby's house and present his regards and sympathy to General Maxcy Gregg, who was there seriously wounded. I found General Gregg on a bed in the center of a large room, surrounded by surgeons and other officers. I conveyed my message to him personally. He was much affected and desired me to thank General Jackson for his thoughtful remembrance.

Riding away, I found the headquarters tents and wagons near the Marye house in the rear of Hamilton's Crossing. A party of gentlemen had arrived from Richmond, Hon. Alexander Boteler and others, and with them Mr. Volke, a sculptor. Mr. Boteler had brought a large bucket of oysters, and the cook made us a supper of oysters and our ordinary camp fare that was greatly enjoyed.

After the supper, the general was requested to allow Mr. Volke to make some sketches of him. The party gathered in the general's tent, where the artist went to work with his pencils. Going out of the tent for a few minutes, on my return I found the gentlemen all in broad smiles, and the general himself, sitting erect on his camp stool, quite sound asleep.

After the party had found places for the night's rest and I had just wrapped myself in my blanket, and was not yet asleep, an orderly came to my tent and said: "Captain, the general wants you." Pulling on my boots, I went at once to the general's tent and found him sitting on the side of his cot. He handed me the following note from General Lee, which he asked me to read, saying he had just received it.

Headquarters 13 December '62.

General—

Will you direct your Ordnance Officer, Major Bier to send to Guinea's Depot *immediately* all the empty ordnance wagons he can, to be replenished with ammunition for which they must re-

main there till loaded. To obtain as many wagons as possible, let him empty all he can in replenishing the ammunition of men and batteries.

Very Respt.

R. E. LEE.

P. S. I need not remind you to have the ammunition of your men and batteries replenished tonight, everything ready by daylight to-morrow. I am truly grateful to the Giver of all victory for having blessed us thus far in our terrible struggle. I pray He may continue it.

R. E. L.

Genl. Jackson.

General Jackson wished me to go to the front at once and find our four division commanders and communicate to them the wishes of General Lee as to supplying the troops with rations and ammunition before morning. He added his own message to General Early to move his division into the front line along the railroad before the moon rose, about 2 A. M. I had difficulty in finding the generals commanding divisions, A. P. Hill, Early, Taliaferro and D. H. Hill. The night was dark and the troops were sleeping on the ground. Two recollections I have distinctly: one is that of finding General Early by the striking of matches by several couriers, who were trying to make a fire for the general, and his own profane abuse of his staff, who were not with him. The other incident I recall is that, greatly wearied and almost asleep, I allowed my horse to turn not to the rear but to the front of our lines; and I thus rode out on the plain until a Confederate picket halted me and in a low tone told me that if I went two rods farther I should be in the enemy's hands. This woke me up thoroughly and I turned and came back, most thankful that I was not a prisoner, to be carried off to a hard prison life.

It was nearly daybreak when I returned to the headquarters camp, and wrapped myself again in my blankets. But I was not yet asleep, when again an orderly at my tent door said, "Captain,

the general wants you." Struggling into my boots once more, I found the general making his toilet, with a tin basin of water and a rough towel.

He said, "I have just had a message from General Gregg, who is nearing his end at the Yerby house, asking that I call to see him as I go to the front this morning. I wish you to ride with me, captain!"

Dressing hurriedly, I got into the saddle and rode with General Jackson to the Yerby house.

There was an affecting interview between Jackson and Gregg, a large man, who was suffering greatly and failing rapidly. Gregg wished to explain and express regret for an endorsement he had written on some paper which he feared was offensive to General Jackson. Jackson did not know to what Gregg referred, and soon interrupted the sufferer to say that it had given him no offense whatever, and then, with Gregg's hand in his, he added, "The doctors tell me that you have not long to live. Let me ask you to dismiss this matter from your mind and turn your thoughts to God and to the world to which you go." Both were much moved. General Gregg with tears said: "I thank you; I thank you very much." Silently we rode away, and as the sun rose, General Jackson was again on the hill near Hamilton's Crossing. And that day Burnside began his retreat to the north of the Rappahannock.

CHAPTER VI.

WINTER QUARTERS AT MOSS NECK.

It was on the morning of December 15, 1862, that we discovered at Hamilton's Crossing that the battle of Fredericksburg had ended with the defeat of the enemy and his withdrawal to the north side of the Rappahannock River. The heavy mists were slow in rising, but as the sun made its way through, our pickets advanced across the plain and reached the entrenched river road, to find that all the proud army of Burnside had gone back to the Stafford heights. Here and there a Federal deserter lurked in the ditches, waiting to surrender. Dead bodies were found in piles, forsaken to the care of our burial corps. Arms and accouterments, dismounted artillery, and ordnance wagons everywhere strewed the fields.

The possibility of an attempt by the enemy to cross the river at other points was in the minds of our leaders; promptly Stuart moved his cavalry off to the right, down the river, and Jackson's divisions of infantry were set in motion on the hill roads by Grace church, to Caroline Academy and Port Royal.

Before noon Jackson, with one aide and a body of couriers, set off down the river road. In the afternoon couriers reached us from Stuart, and by five o'clock we learned that there were no indications of Federal movements on the river as far as Port Royal. We were then at the Moss Neck church, below Hayfield. Jackson turned and asked where we should spend the night. He was told that we were near the "Moss Neck" house, the fine residence of James Park Corbin, and that it would be a suitable place for his headquarters, as it afforded large accommodation and was well-known and accessible to couriers. Turning aside from the river road, we soon reached the large and handsome place, but the general no sooner saw it than he declared he would not go there. The alternative was between the comfort and hospitality of that elegant residence and a night on the ground

in the bitter cold of December without food or shelter, for our wagons had gone to Guinea Station and could not reach us. But with his cap down and his face up, Jackson said "No!" and that was an end, we thought, of the comfort and the supper and the ladies. Passing long columns of troops, who broke into wild cheers of delight on finding that "Old Jack" was with them, we turned into the oak woods a mile beyond "Moss Neck" house and dismounted. One young man there was disappointed and mad.

Soon our couriers drew some wood together and made a roaring fire for us and another for themselves a few rods away. Men and horses were to go to bed supperless. It was not long before the general asked whether I had any biscuits in my haversack. I regret now to say that it was with extreme pleasure that I told him I had none. I had eaten nothing since the breakfast at early daylight. The general and his aide wrapped themselves together in their overcoats on one saddle blanket and covered themselves with another. After awhile Jackson stirred and sat up, saying that he was cold and hungry. I thought of the supper table at "Moss Neck", and the comfortable beds with blankets. The large dead tree at the foot of which the couriers had built their fire just then came down with a great crash, falling across the fire and throwing brands and coals over us and in all directions. It was a mercy that the Confederate army did not lose its Stonewall by the falling of that tree. Captain Hugh McGuire arrived and came to our fire; the general, relenting, asked whether he could not get us something to eat. McGuire had taught in a family in the neighborhood and knew the people well. Mounting, he rode to "Moss Neck" and in a little while returned with a basket of biscuits and a half-used ham, on which we made a feast indeed. The couriers were called in, and we had quite a merry time by the fire. The general tried his hard, cold couch again, but in half an hour he suddenly rose and said quietly: "Captain, let's go to the 'Moss Neck' house!" He was conquered. And I almost dared to say, "I told you so!"

Though it was midnight and all the household were asleep, they were soon aroused by Captain McGuire, who, through a key-

hole, told a frightened maiden of advanced years that General Jackson accepted Mrs. Corbin's invitation and had come to spend the night. Lights soon began moving through the house. The great door was unbarred. Fires were stirred and replenished. The general was taken to a chamber and I slept before the fire on a costly rug, as comfortable a boy as there was in the army that bitter night. So began our winter's stay at "Moss Neck."

The house was a large mansion, built a few years before, when James Park Corbin had been a man of wealth, on the hills a mile or more back from the river and commanding a fine view. It was constructed after the style of an English country residence, with extended wings and with large porches of fine columns. It was exceedingly commodious, having a large number of rooms beautifully fitted and well-furnished. Mrs. Richard Corbin was the lady of the house, and gave the general a most cordial invitation to occupy as many rooms as he wished. But he would not listen to such a proposition. We must share the camp with the troops. And when the wagons came, our tents were pitched in the grove beyond the stables; and soon the staff gathered in, and the work of all departments began in earnest. Prompt reports came from our division commanders as to the encampment of troops. D. H. Hill was at Grace Episcopal church. A. P. Hill was at a house half-way between. Taliaferro was near us, and below, near Caroline Academy, was Early. Orders were issued as to picket lines on the river. Messages were sent to General Lee, and the long winter work of organization and preparation was begun.

Christmas was coming. Two days before General Jackson told us he wished to entertain Generals Lee, Stuart and Pendleton at dinner on Christmas day. I was the caterer at the time, for the members of the staff took that post in turn, and so it devolved on me to provide that dinner. "If I say it myself as shouldn't," it was a famous dinner. An attempt to buy a turkey from a lady resulted in a present of two fine turkeys. A bucket of oysters arrived from somewhere down the river; and a box came to the general from Staunton ladies, with another turkey, a splendid ham, a large cake, a bottle of wine, and the spaces filled with

white biscuit and the best of pickles. Jim, the general's cook, was altogether successful, and John, our waiting boy, had on a spotless white apron. Lee, in good humor, declared that we were only playing soldiers and invited us to dine with him and see how a soldier ought to live. Stuart was in great glee, ridiculing the white apron and playfully chiding Jackson for his bottle of wine. In the center of the table was a print of butter—a present from the Hayfield farm—on which was a gallant rooster. Stuart pronounced it to be Jackson's coat-of-arms, and old General Pendleton said the grace and ate the dinner and said it was all good.

How many staff people were present I do not recall, but, in addition to our own party, there were Colonel Venable and Colonel Marshall and big Von Borcke and Pelham and John Esten Cooke and Hullihen and George Peterkin, and a lot more. There were not many turkeys left when the day was over!

We younger men were glad when the generals were gone, for we had an evening entertainment before us—an invitation to a veritable old-fashioned party in Mrs. Corbin's beautiful parlors. There was a deal of preparation in the tents, and then a rare sight of beauty and grace, of lights and greenery, holly and mistletoe in the castle halls! And one young man, at least, our Sandy Pendleton, met his fate in a pair of black eyes that night.

About a week later General Jackson had earache, and Dr. McGuire said he had taken cold and must go to a room in the house. The general then consented to occupy an office-building in the grounds. It was a small frame house, a story and a half high, which stood to the left and front of the mansion, under the fine trees. It was a country gentleman's office. There was a little lobby in the front; on the left a wood closet, and on the right a narrow stairway leading to an attic room. An open fireplace was at the opposite end from the door. On either side of the door were book-shelves, on which stood farmers' books, horse and cattle registers, agricultural reports, Virginia codes, and a miscellaneous lot of old-time volumes. On the walls hung framed pictures of famous horses and fine cattle, and over the mantel was a tinted picture of a rat-worry. The general's cot was placed on one side, and a small table on the other. Two or three

stools completed the furniture. On the wall hung the general's sword, his overcoat and cap, and in the corner lay his boots. A guard marched to and fro before the door, an Irishman usually from the Irish Battalion, provost guard of the corps; and he took his duty of protecting the general with great pride and seriousness. The general himself was caught outside one bad night, and no persuasion could induce the guard to believe the general. Only the sergeant of the guard at last secured his admission.

In that modest little office Jackson spent the winter, consenting to so much protection only because it was urged that cold or sickness contracted in a tent would impair his efficiency in the duties which devolved upon him. That he regarded these duties seriously, I need not say. Although the campaign was over and winter compelled a cessation of active movements, all his energies were engaged in preparation for the earliest spring. Not for a moment would he think of an absence. He himself was not absent a day; and he earnestly discouraged absence in others. The morning hours and much of the afternoon were spent in the important work he now engaged in. His meals were taken with his staff in a dining tent at our camping grounds and he spent little time at the table. First in the morning the members of the staff, one after another, called with written reports of conditions and wants: quartermaster, commissary, ordnance, medical affairs all passed daily under his attention, and necessary orders were issued or communications written. The adjutant-general then came with two departments of work-papers from army headquarters, or through General Lee, from the War Department, to be transmitted to all the divisions, and papers passing up from the divisions to the commander of the army. Notes were taken of communications that were to be written out in the office of the adjutant-general. Then there were reports of the inspector-general, reports from the military court of the corps in session at Moss Neck all the winter, directions to the topographical engineers as to map-making. There was the survey of military roads. After these matters of important routine, there were letters of military importance to be written to General Lee, to the Secretary of War, to committees of the Confederate Congress.

The preparation of reports of the battles of the last campaign occupied his attention, and were written at his dictation, sometimes by an aide and sometimes by Colonel Charles J. Faulkner, A. A. G. Late in the afternoon the work was laid aside, and the general went out for a ride, or more commonly for a walk through the forest, and usually alone. In the evening great stacks of papers, prepared by his own direction, were brought for his signature, and he signed his name until sometimes he would fall asleep over his table; he often wrote T. J. Jackson in his haste and weariness. All his capacity for organization was exercised and developed. Of the multitude of affairs in that large corps there was nothing of which he did not know and which did not receive his earnest attention. Under that energetic administration there was work everywhere, organization, appointment of officers, discipline, inspection, drill. The command soon responded to his efforts by improvement in its condition. The return of absent officers and men was a matter of great concern. Every possible exertion was made to fill the ranks: from the homes and hospitals men were recalled; arms, ammunition, ordnance stores, rations, clothing, shoes, blankets, wagons, horses, harness, medical stores, were replenished. Every bureau of the War Department was kept awake by Jackson's demands. If stores demanded were not forthcoming, he would know the reason why.

This work found its frequent interruption in the visits of important people. General Lee and his staff sometimes called for a short interview. The four division commanders often dismounted at his door. Brigadiers and colonels sometimes came with special applications. Members of Congress from Richmond arrived to spend the day. No more welcome guest ever came than General J. E. B. Stuart. Stuart's first visit to the office was memorable. With clanking saber and spurs and waving black plume he came, and was warmly greeted at the door. Papers and work were all hastily laid aside. No sooner had Stuart entered than his attention turned to the pictures on the walls. He read aloud what was said about each noted race horse and each splendid bull. At the hearth he paused to scan with affected astonishment the horrid picture of a certain terrier that

could kill so many rats a minute. He pretended to believe that they were General Jackson's selections; with great solemnity he looked at the picture and then at the general. He paused and stepped back, and in solemn tones said he wished to express his astonishment and grief at the display of General Jackson's low tastes. It would be a sad disappointment to the old ladies of the country, who thought that Jackson was a good man. General Jackson was delighted above measure. He blushed like a girl, and hesitated, and said nothing but to turn aside and direct that a good dinner be prepared for General Stuart. All the genial humor and frolic of that splendid cavalier were enjoyed exceedingly, with utter incapacity for response.

Among our visitors were several officers of the English army, who had a great desire to see Stonewall Jackson, the hero of the Shenandoah Valley. There were Mr. Lawler, of the *London Times*, and a representative of the *London Illustrated News*. A week was spent in our headquarters by the young Marquis of Hartington, later the Duke of Devonshire, and his friend, Colonel Leslie, chairman of the military committee in the House of Commons. Hartington was a fine young Englishman, hearty, cordial, unaffected, just out of his university life. He shared my blankets and rode my horses. He saw a fine review of our corps and visited the young ladies of the Rappahannock with great satisfaction. Leslie, an older man, spent much time with General Jackson and at the end of his week's stay said that Jackson was the best informed military man he had met in America and as perfect a gentleman as he had ever seen.

I recall a visit that General Jackson made to General Lee, in headquarters, on the Mine road, above Hamilton's Crossing. It was in the depth of winter. One day there came a note from Lee asking Jackson to come to see him at his convenience. In the evening Jackson said he would ride up there the next morning and directed me to be ready to accompany him. When the early morning came, the country lay under a heavy fall of snow and the cold was severe, with the snow still falling. I turned over in my blanket and went to sleep again, thinking that the general would not go. But an orderly awoke me, saying that the general

was ready to mount and waiting for me. I was soon in the saddle by his side, without my breakfast, and a worse ride than that one, in the face of the storm for twelve or fourteen miles, I never had. General Lee was surprised and quite indignant that General Jackson had come. Walking out into the snow, without his hat, he reproached Jackson, saying, "You know I did not wish you to come in such a storm; it was a matter of little importance; I am so sorry that you have had this ride." Jackson blushed and smiled, and said: "I received your note, General Lee!"

Lee showed great solicitude about the young aide, directing that he should be taken to a good fire and have his clothes well dried; and he himself came out later to see that I was cared for. When Jackson withdrew, Lee insisted that I should stay to lunch with him, saying that he knew I was hungry—boys always were hungry; and when I told him that I must accompany General Jackson, he said: "Not at all; your good general doesn't need you now!" However, as Jackson would not stay, I accompanied him on his return ride, thus missing my dinner as well as my breakfast.

Sometime in the winter there were indications of an attempt by the enemy to cross the river opposite "Hayfield," the residence of the venerable William P. Taylor. At night our pickets heard the sound of axes, as if the Federals were preparing a corduroy road to the river side. By appointment, Jackson met Lee, Stuart, and Pendleton on the river road. Stuart came up to the party at a sweeping gallop, singing, "If you want to have a good time, join the cavalry." At "Hayfield" General Lee proposed that the party should call on his kinsman, Mr. Taylor. Dismounting, the officers were greeted at the door by Mrs. Taylor, and General Lee, with his most distinguished manner, led the party into the drawing-room, where Mr. Taylor, an infirm gentleman, received the company in his chair. Lee was in a most facetious mood. He told his cousin, Mrs. Taylor, that he had brought these distinguished generals to see her and that she must give her attention to them while he talked to the girls. Two young girls were there, greatly delighted to see General Lee, and, seated on ottomans, they fondly leaned on the arms of his chair. Lee told them he had "brought

those great generals for them to see, and those young men to see them." A large party of young officers were in the room, among them that brilliant young hero, Major Pelham. Seeing Pelham, General Lee told the girls that the young men of the day were not very worthy of their attention, but that one of his party had a rare virtue—he was very modest. Pelham, who was standing in the rear of the room, blushed like a girl himself. Lee remarked that Major Pelham had a special reason for his modesty that day, because he had on a borrowed coat. Pelham told me as he rode away that it was true, but how General Lee had detected it he could not imagine.

CHAPTER VII.*

HIS LAST BATTLE.

At daybreak on the morning of the 29th of April, 1863, sleeping in our tents at corps headquarters, near Hamilton's Crossing, we were aroused by Major Samuel Hale, of Early's staff, with the stirring news that Federal troops were crossing the Rappahannock on pontoons under cover of a heavy fog. General Jackson had spent the night at Mr. Yerby's hospitable mansion near by, where Mrs. Jackson had brought her infant child for the father to see. He was at once informed, and promptly issued to his division commanders orders of preparation for action. At his direction I rode a mile across the fields to army headquarters, and finding General Robert E. Lee still slumbering quietly, at the suggestion of Colonel Venable, whom I found stirring, I entered his tent and awoke the general. Turning his feet out of his cot, he sat upon its side as I gave him the tidings from the front. Expressing no surprise, he playfully said: "Well, I thought I heard firing, and was beginning to think it was time some of you young fellows were coming to tell me what it was all about. Tell your good general that I am sure he knows what to do. I will meet him at the front very soon."

It was Sedgwick who had crossed, and, marching along the river front to impress us with his numbers, was now intrenching his line on the river road, under cover of Federal batteries on the north bank.

All day long we lay in the old lines of the action of December preceding, watching the operation of the enemy. Nor did we move through the next day, the 30th of April. General Lee had been informed promptly by General J. E. B. Stuart, of the Confederate cavalry, of the movement in force by General Hooker across the Rappahannock upon Chancellorsville; and during the night of Thursday, April 30th, General Jackson withdrew his corps, leaving Early and his division with Barksdale's brigade to

*Originally published in the *Century Magazine*, October, 1886, and used with the kind permission of the Century Company.

hold the old lines from Hamilton's Crossing along the rear of Fredericksburg.

By the light of a brilliant moon, at midnight, that passed into an early dawn of dense mist, the troops were moved, by the Old Mine road, out of sight of the enemy, until, about 11 A. M. of Friday, May 1st, they reached Anderson's position, confronting Hooker's advance from Chancellorsville, near the Tabernacle church on the plank road. To meet the whole Army of the Potomac, under Hooker, General Lee had of all arms about sixty thousand men. Longstreet, with part of his corps, was absent below Petersburg. Lee had two divisions of Longstreet's corps, Anderson's and McLaws's, and Jackson's corps, consisting of four divisions, A. P. Hill's, D. H. Hill's commanded by Rodes, Trimble's commanded by Colston, and Early's; and about a hundred and seventy pieces of field artillery. The divisions of Anderson and McLaws had been sent from Fredericksburg to meet Hooker's advance from Chancellorsville—Anderson on Wednesday, and McLaws (except Barksdale's brigade left with Early) on Thursday. At the Tabernacle church, about four miles east of Chancellorsville, the opposing forces met and brisk skirmishing began. On Friday Jackson, reaching Anderson's position, took command of the Confederate advance, and urged on his skirmish line under Brigadier-general Ramseur with great vigor. How the muskets rattled along a front of a mile or two, across the unfenced fields and through the woodlands! What spirit was imparted to the line, and cheers rolled along its length, when Jackson, and then Lee himself, appeared riding abreast of the line along the plank road! Slowly but steadily the line advanced, until at nightfall all Federal pickets and skirmishers were driven back upon the body of Hooker's force at Chancellorsville.

Here we reached a point, a mile and a half from Hooker's lines, where a road turns down to the left toward the old Catherine Furnace, and here at the fork of the roads Generals Lee and Jackson spent the night, resting on the pine straw, curtained only by the close shadow of the pine forest. A little after nightfall I was sent by General Lee upon an errand to A. P. Hill, on the old stone turnpike a mile or two north; and returning some time later

with information of matters on our right, I found General Jackson retired to rest, and General Lee sleeping at the foot of a tree, covered with his army cloak. As I aroused the sleeper, he slowly sat up on the ground and said, "Ah, captain, you have returned, have you? Come here and tell me what you have learned on the right." Laying his hand on me, he drew me down by his side, and, passing his arm around my shoulder, drew me near to him in a fatherly way that told of his warm and kindly heart. When I had related such information as I had secured for him, he thanked me for accomplishing his commission, and then said he regretted that the young men about General Jackson had not relieved him of annoyance, by finding a battery of the enemy which had harassed our advance, adding that the young men of that day were not equal to what they had been when he was a young man. Seeing immediately that he was jesting and disposed to rally me, as he often did young officers, I broke away from the hold on me which he tried to retain, and, as he laughed heartily through the stillness of the night, I went off to make a bed of my saddle-blanket, and, with my head in my saddle, near my horse's feet, was soon wrapped in the heavy slumber of a wearied soldier.

Some time after midnight I was awakened by the chill of the early morning hours, and, turning over, caught a glimpse of a little flame on the slope above me, and sitting up to see what it meant I saw, bending over a scant fire of twigs, two men seated on old cracker boxes and warming their hands over the little fire. I had to rub my eyes and collect my wits to recognize the figures of Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson. Who can tell the story of that quiet council of war between two sleeping armies? Nothing remains on record to tell of plans discussed, and dangers weighed, and a great purpose formed, except the story of the great day so soon to follow.

It was broad daylight, and the thick beams of yellow sunlight came through the pine branches, when some one touched me rudely with his foot, saying, "Get up, Smith, the general wants you!" As I leaped to my feet, the rhythmic click of the canteens of marching infantry caught my ear. Already in motion! What could it mean? In a moment I was mounted and at the side of

the general, who sat on his horse by the roadside, as the long line of our troops cheerily, but in silence as directed, poured down the Furnace road. His cap was pulled low over his eye, and, looking up from under the visor, with lips compressed, indicating the firm purpose within, he nodded to me, and in brief and rapid utterance, without a superfluous word, as though all were distinctly formed in his mind and beyond question, he gave me orders for our wagon and ambulance trains. From the open fields in our rear, at the head of the Catharpin road, all trains were to be moved upon that road to Todd's tavern, and thence west by interior roads, so that our troops would be between them and the enemy at Chancellorsville.

My orders delivered and the trains set in motion, I returned to the site of our night's bivouac, to find that Jackson and staff had followed the marching column.

Who was the young ordnance officer who so kindly fed my horse at the tail of his wagon and then added the few camp biscuits which were breakfast, dinner, and supper to me that day? Many thanks to my unknown friend.

Slow and tedious is the advance of a mounted officer who has to pass in narrow wood roads, through dense thickets, the packed column of marching infantry, to be recognized all along the line and good-naturedly chaffed by many a gay-spirited fellow: "Say, here's one of 'Old Jack's' little boys, let him by, boys!" in a most patronizing tone. "Have a good breakfast this morning, sonny?" "Better hurry up, or you'll catch it for getting behind." "Tell 'Old Jack' we're all a-comin'." "Don't let him begin the fuss till we get thar!" And so on, until about 3 P. M., after a ride of ten miles of tortuous road, I found the general, seated on a stump by the Brock road, writing this dispatch:

Near 3 P. M., May 2nd, 1863.

GENERAL. The enemy has made a stand at Chancellor's, which is about two miles from Chancellorsville. I hope so soon as practicable to attack.

I trust that an ever kind Providence will bless us with success.

Respectfully,

T. J. JACKSON,
Lieutenant-General.

GENERAL ROBERT E. LEE.

P. S. The leading division is up, and the next two appear to be well closed.

T. J. J.

The place here mentioned as Chancellor's was also known as Dowdall's tavern. It was the farm of the Rev. Melzi Chancellor, two miles west of Chancellorsville, and the Federal force found here and at Talley's, a mile farther west, was the Eleventh Corps, under General Howard. General Fitz Lee, with cavalry scouts, had advanced until he had view of the position of Howard's corps, and found it unprotected by pickets and unsuspecting of a possible attack.

Reaching the Orange plank road, Jackson himself rode with Fitz Lee to reconnoiter the position of Howard, and then sent the Stonewall Brigade of Virginia troops, under Brigadier-general Paxton, to hold the point where the Germanna plank road obliquely enters the Orange road. Leading the main column of his force farther on the Brock road to the old turnpike, the head of the column turned sharply eastward toward Chancellorsville. About a mile had been passed, when he halted and began the disposition of his forces to attack Howard.

Rodes's division, at the head of the column, was thrown into line of battle, with Colston forming the second line and A. P. Hill the third, while the artillery under Colonel Stapleton Crutchfield moved in column on the road, or was parked in a field on the right. The well-trained skirmishers of Rodes's division, under Major Eugene Blackford, were thrown to the front. It must have been between five and six o'clock in the evening, Saturday, May 2d, when these dispositions were completed. Upon his stout-built, long-paced little sorrel, Jackson sat, with visor low over his eyes and lips compressed, and with his watch in his hand. Upon his right sat Robert E. Rodes, the very picture of a soldier, and every inch all that he appeared. Upon his right sat Major Blackford.

"Are you ready, General Rodes?" said Jackson.

"Yes, sir!" replied Rodes, impatient for the advance.

"You can go forward then," said Jackson.

A nod from Rodes was order enough for Blackford, and then suddenly the woods rang with the bugle call, and back came the responses from bugles on the right and left, and the long line of skirmishers, through the wild thicket of undergrowth sprang eagerly to their work, followed promptly by the quick steps of the line of battle. For a moment all the troops seemed buried in the depths of the gloomy forest, and then suddenly the echoes waked and swept the country for miles, never failing until heard at the headquarters of Hooker at Chancellorsville—the wild “rebel yell” of the long Confederate lines.

Never was assault delivered with grander enthusiasm. Fresh from the long winter's waiting, and confident from the preparation of the spring, the troops were in fine condition and in high spirits. The boys were all back from home or sick leave. “Old Jack” was there upon the road in their midst; there could be no mistake and no failure. And there were Rodes and A. P. Hill. Had they not seen and cheered as long and as loud as they were permitted the gay-hearted Stuart and the splendid Fitz Lee, with long beard and fiery charger? Was not Crutchfield's array of brass and iron “dogs of war” at hand, with Poague and Palmer, and all the rest, ready to bark loud and deep with half a chance?

Alas! for Howard and his unformed lines, and his brigades with guns stacked, and officers at dinner or asleep under the trees, and butchers deep in the blood of beeves! Scattered through field and forest, his men were preparing their evening meal. A little show of earthwork facing the south was quickly taken by us in reverse from the west. Flying battalions are not flying buttresses for an army's stability. Across Talley's fields the rout begins. Over at Hawkin's hill, on the north of the road, Carl Schurz makes a stand, soon to be driven into the same hopeless panic. By the quiet Wilderness church in the vale, leaving wounded and dead everywhere, by Melzi Chancellor's, on into the deep thicket again, the Confederate lines press forward,—now broken and all disaligned by the density of bush that tears the clothes away; now halting to load and deliver a volley upon some regiment or fragment of the enemy that will not move as fast as others. Thus the attack upon Hooker's flank was a grand success, beyond the most sanguine expectation.

The writer was ordered to remain at the point where the advance began, to be a center of communication between the general and the cavalry on the flanks, and to deliver orders to detachments of artillery still moving up from the rear.

Whose fine black charger, with such elegant trappings, was that, deserted by his owner and found tied to a tree, which became mine only for that short and eventful nightfall?

It was about 8 P. M., in the twilight, that, so comfortably mounted, I gathered my couriers about me and went forward to find Jackson. The storm of battle had swept far on to the east, and become more and more faint to the ear, until silence came with night over the fields and woods. As I rode along that old turnpike, passing scattered fragments of Confederates looking for their regiments, parties of prisoners concentrating under guards, wounded men by the roadside and under the trees at Talley's and Chancellor's, I had reached an open field on the right, a mile west of Chancellorsville, when, in the dusky twilight, I saw horsemen near an old cabin in the field. Turning toward them, I found Rodes and his staff engaged in gathering the broken and scattered troops that had swept the two miles of battlefield. "General Jackson is just ahead on the road, captain," said Rodes; "tell him I will be here at this cabin if I am wanted." I had not gone a hundred yards before I heard firing, a shot or two, and then a company volley upon the right of the road, and another upon the left. A few moments farther on I met Captain Murray Taylor, an aide of A. P. Hill's, with tidings that Jackson and Hill were wounded, and some around them killed, by the fire of their own men. Spurring my horse into a sweeping gallop, I soon passed the Confederate line of battle, and, some three or four rods in its front, found the general's horse beside a pine sapling on the left, and a rod beyond a little party of men caring for a wounded officer. The story of the sad event is briefly told, and very much in essentials as it came to me from the lips of the wounded general himself, and in everything confirmed and completed by those who were eye-witnesses and near companions.

When Jackson had reached the point where his line now

crossed the turnpike, scarcely a mile west of Chancellorsville, and not half a mile from a line of Federal troops, he had found his front line unfit for the farther and vigorous advance he desired, by reason of the irregular character of the fighting, now right, now left, and because of the dense thickets, through which it was impossible to preserve alignment. Division commanders found it more and more difficult as the twilight deepened to hold their broken brigades in hand. Regretting the necessity of relieving the troops in front, General Jackson had ordered A. P. Hill's division, his third and reserve line, to be placed in front. While this change was being effected, impatient and anxious, the general rode forward on the turnpike, followed by two or three of his staff and a number of couriers and signal-sergeants. He passed a swampy depression and began the ascent of the hill toward Chancellorsville, when he came upon a line of the Federal infantry lying on their arms. Fired at by one or two muskets (two musket balls from the enemy whistled over my head as I came to the front), he turned and came back toward his line, upon the side of the road to his left. As he rode near to the Confederate troops, just placed in position and ignorant that he was in the front, the left company began firing to the front, and two of his party fell from their saddles dead—Captain Boswell of the Engineers, and Sergeant Cunliffe of the Signal Corps. Spurring his horse across the road to his right, he was met by a second volley from the right company of Pender's North Carolina Brigade. Under this volley, when not two rods from the troops, the general received three balls at the same instant. One penetrated the palm of his right hand and was cut out that night from the back of his hand. A second passed around the wrist of the left arm and out through the left hand. But a third ball passed through the left arm halfway from shoulder to elbow. The large bone of the upper arm was splintered to the elbow-joint, and the wound bled freely. His horse turned quickly from the fire, through the thick bushes, which swept the cap from the general's head and scratched his forehead, leaving drops of blood to stain his face. As he lost his hold upon the bridle-rein, he reeled from the saddle, and was caught by the arms of

Captain Wilbourne of the Signal Corps. Laid upon the ground, there came at once to his succor, General A. P. Hill and members of his staff. The writer reached his side a minute after, to find General Hill holding the head and shoulders of the wounded chief. Cutting open the coat sleeve from wrist to shoulder, I found the wound in the upper arm, and with my handkerchief I bound the arm above the wound to stem the flow of blood. Couriers were sent for Dr. Hunter McGuire, the surgeon of the corps and the general's trusted friend, and for an ambulance. Being outside of our lines, it was urgent that he should be moved at once. With difficulty litter-bearers were brought from the line near by, the general placed upon the litter, and carefully raised to the shoulder, I myself bearing one corner. A moment after, artillery from the Federal side was opened upon us; great broadsides thundered over the woods; hissing shells searched the dark thickets through, and shrapnel swept the road along which we moved. Two or three steps farther, and the litter-bearer at my side was struck and fell, but, as the litter turned, Major Watkins Leigh, of Hill's staff, happily caught it. But the fright of the men was so great that we were obliged to lay the litter and its burden down upon the road. As the litter-bearers ran to the cover of the trees, I threw myself by the general's side, and held him firmly to the ground as he attempted to rise. Over us swept the rapid fire of shot and shell—grape-shot striking fire upon the flinty rock of the road all around us, and sweeping from their feet horses and men of the artillery just moved to the front. Soon the firing veered to the other side of the road, and I sprang to my feet, assisted the general to rise, passed my arm around him, and with the wounded man's weight thrown heavily upon me, we forsook the road. Entering the woods, he sank to the ground from exhaustion, but the litter was soon brought, and again rallying a few men, we essayed to carry him farther, when a second bearer fell at my side. This time, with none to assist, the litter careened, and the general fell to the ground, with a groan of deep pain. Greatly alarmed, I sprang to his aid, and, lifting his head as a stray beam of moonlight came through clouds and leaves, he opened his eyes and wearily

said, "Never mind me, captain, never mind me." Raising him again to his feet, he was accosted by Brigadier-general Pender: "Oh, general, I hope you are not seriously wounded. I will have to retire my troops to re-form them, they are so much broken by this fire." But Jackson, rallying his strength, with firm voice said, "You must hold your ground, General Pender; you must hold your ground, sir!" and so uttered his last command on the field.

Again we resorted to the litter, and with difficulty bore it through the bush, and then under a hot and angry fire along the road. Soon an ambulance was reached, and stopping to seek some stimulant at Chancellor's (Dowdall's tavern), we were found by Dr. McGuire, who at once took charge of the wounded man. Through the night, back over the battle-field of the afternoon, we reached the Wilderness store, and in a field on the north the field-hospital of our corps under Dr. Harvey Black. Here we found a tent prepared, and after midnight the left arm was amputated near the shoulder, and a ball taken from the right hand.

All night long it was mine to watch by the sufferer, and keep him warmly wrapped and undisturbed in his sleep. At 9 A. M., on the next day, when he aroused, cannon firing again filled the air, and all the Sunday through the fierce battle raged, J. E. B. Stuart commanding the Confederates in Jackson's place. A dispatch was sent to the commanding general to announce formally his disability,—tidings Lee had received during the night with profound grief. There came back the following note:

"GENERAL: I have just received your note, informing me that you were wounded. I cannot express my regret at the occurrence. Could I have directed events, I should have chosen, for the good of the country, to have been disabled in your stead.

"I congratulate you upon the victory which is due to your skill and energy.

"Most truly yours,

"R. E. LEE, *General.*"

When this dispatch was handed to me at the tent, and I read it aloud, Jackson turned his face away and said, "General Lee is very kind, but he should give the praise to God."

The long day was passed with bright hopes for the wounded general, with tidings of success on the battlefield, with sad news of losses, and messages to and from other wounded officers brought to the same infirmary.

On Monday, the general was carried in an ambulance, by way of Spotsylvania Courthouse to most comfortable lodging at Chandler's, near Guinea Station, on the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad. And here, against our hopes, notwithstanding the skill and care of wise and watchful surgeons, watched day and night by wife and friends, amid the prayers and tears of all the Southern land, thinking not of himself but of the cause he loved, and for the troops who had followed him so well and given him so great a name, our chief sank, day by day, with symptoms of pneumonia and some pains of pleurisy. At last at 3:15 P. M., on the quiet of the Sabbath afternoon, May 10, 1863, he raised himself from his bed, saying, "No, no, let us pass over the river, and rest under the shade of the trees;" and, falling again to his pillow, he passed away, "over the river," where, in a land where warfare is not known or feared, he rests forever "under the trees."

His shattered arm was buried in the family burying-ground of the Ellwood place—Major J. H. Lacy's—near his last battlefield.

His body rests, as he himself asked, "in Lexington, in the Valley of Virginia." The spot where he was fatally wounded in the shades of the Wilderness is marked by a monument, erected by an association in Fredericksburg.

CHAPTER VIII.

WITH LEE AT GETTYSBURG.

After the burial of General Jackson at Lexington, Va., the duty was assigned me by the staff of accompanying Mrs. Jackson and her child to her father's home in North Carolina. Returning to Richmond, I found a letter from General R. S. Ewell, now commanding the Second Corps, cordially inviting me to a position on his staff, and this invitation I accepted. At Staunton I secured a horse and soon reached Winchester, finding that the Confederate army had crossed the Potomac and moved into Pennsylvania.

On the afternoon of June 29, 1863, I crossed the Potomac at Williamsport, riding through the river with two cavalymen who said that they were couriers from Stuart's headquarters, and that they had left Stuart the day before somewhere east of the Blue Ridge and south of the Potomac. They had brought dispatches for detachments in the Valley, and had orders to follow the army trains into Pennsylvania. Leaving them at Williamsport, I rode alone through the evening and night. As I passed, at sunset, through Greencastle, Penn., the farmers of the vicinity were still gathered in groups about the stores and at the street corners. I was in the uniform of a Confederate captain, and rode alone through the long street, with my hand on my pistol, expecting every moment to be halted.

I reached the vicinity of Chambersburg by early daybreak, and passing, after some delay, through the Confederate picket lines, I inquired in the town for General Lee. I soon found him in a woodland a short distance to the east of the town. Lee was about to mount with his staff, when he saw me and called me to him. After giving me a kind greeting, and hearing of my all-night ride, he inquired with much tenderness of Mrs. Jackson and her child and then spoke with sadness and emotion of the loss he had experienced in the death of Jackson.

He asked whether I had heard anything of General Stuart and his movements. When I repeated what the couriers had said to me the night before at the Potomac, he seemed surprised and asked me to repeat it. Colonel Taylor of his staff, later on, asked me for tidings of Stuart, and I repeated to him my interview with the couriers. He expressed great surprise. He said it was a great disappointment to General Lee, who had expected that Stuart would have reported to him in Pennsylvania, and that Lee was troubled that his cavalry forces were not between him and the enemy, as he had expected them to be.

At General Lee's request, I remained with his party through that day—June 30—and that night. On July 1, I was with General Lee and his staff when he first heard the guns at Gettysburg. I recall that it was a surprise and something spoken of with regret, that an engagement had been brought on. Heth's division of A. P. Hill's corps, in advancing on the town of Gettysburg, had encountered the enemy, and was soon supported by Pender's division. Ewell came to Heth's support by 2:30 P. M., with Rodes' division; and an hour later Early's division came on the field. By 4 P. M. the Federal force retired through the town, and the field of the first day's fight at Gettysburg was in possession of the Confederates.

Finding that General Ewell, whose staff I was now to join, was on the field, about 3 P. M. I took leave of General Lee on the hills west of the battlefield and rode across the country to find Ewell. I was cordially greeted by him and his party and I rode with them into the town behind our advancing lines.

In the central square of the town, Ewell remained, earnestly engaged in receiving reports from all his command, giving directions as to the disposition of his troops, directing supplies of ammunition and making disposition of a large number of prisoners that had fallen into our hands.

While he was so engaged, Early and Rodes rode in from the front to find him, and with great animation and earnestness reported their advance beyond the town and up the slope of the cemetery beyond.*

*See report of General Early—*Rebellion Records*, Series I, Vol. 27, Part II, p. 469, and report of Gen. Rodes, p. 555.

These two division commanders wished Ewell to communicate to Lee at once their earnest desire to advance upon the cemetery hill in front of the town, provided they were supported by troops on their right. Turning about, Ewell called me and said, "Captain, you have lately been with General Lee; perhaps you can find him again. Please tell him what Generals Early and Rodes wish to say!" After a few moments interview aside with them, I rode out of the town on the road leading by the seminary. I inquired of some officer for General Lee and was told that he had gone to the right a little while before.

Turning on a road leading south, in a short time I found a party of couriers, with several horses. They told me that Lee and Longstreet were dismounted and in the field below. Leaving my horse, I crossed the field and found the two generals standing together at a fence, with their field glasses in their hands. It was probably about 5 P. M. (See Fitzhugh Lee's *General Lee*, p. 276.) Both greeted me courteously. I repeated to General Lee what Ewell had wished me to convey as to the wishes of Early and Rodes, to the effect that "if General Lee would send troops to support them on their right, they could at once advance to occupy the cemetery hill in front of the town; and that it would be well for General Lee to occupy at once the higher ground in front of our right, which seemed to command the cemetery hill."

General Lee said, "I suppose, captain, this is the higher ground to which these gentlemen refer," pointing to the front. He handed me his field glass to observe the position, remarking, "You will see that some of those people are there now." I saw a number of mounted Federals riding over the elevated ground, as if reconnoitering.

General Lee then said: "Our people are not all up yet, and I have no troops with which to occupy this higher ground." Turning to Longstreet, the general asked him how far his divisions were away and how soon he could bring them to the front. Lee seemed disappointed at the reply, which was not definite and conveyed no decision or purpose to bring the troops promptly to the front. He then went on to express his urgent wish that

Longstreet's troops should be moved forward with the utmost diligence.

I was the only other person present at this interview between Lee and Longstreet on the afternoon of the first day of the battle of Gettysburg.

I have thought fit to conclude my reminiscences of service with Stonewall Jackson at this point. My later experiences in the Confederate army were of a different nature and would be out of place in a memoir intended to record my life with Jackson and my impressions of his personality and characteristics.

CHAPTER IX.

SOME ELEMENTS OF JACKSON'S CHARACTER.

He was a man of good size, a little under six feet—five feet ten and three-quarters inches—with square shoulders and large bones, large feet and hands. He had brown hair and beard, which had grown reddish from the sun. He had blue eyes of great gentleness that grew not fierce but intense and strong in the passion of battle. He was erect and soldierly in bearing, with a long and firm stride. He was quick and abrupt in utterance, in conversation preferring rather to listen than to speak. He rode naturally and easily, without a thought of appearances. He was clean and neat in his personal habits, abhorring anything that savored of display. He was courteous in the social circle, and very fond of children.

Jackson was regarded as a man of some oddities at West Point, in the United States army, and at Lexington. He was abrupt in speech and manner, sometimes absent-minded and aloof, or not interested in many things that interested others, and somewhat peculiar in his gait and gestures. These things, of an external kind, came in large part from the simplicity of his character, his absolute truthfulness and sincerity, and his natural modesty.

He had the essential qualities of a soldier. There was self-mastery in a marvelous degree. There was a subordination that was implicit, a patient endurance of hardships coming in the line of duty, and that coolness under fire that makes a man more than ordinarily collected and enables him to form prompt decisions. One of the most marked of Jackson's personal traits was his modesty, for he hesitated and blushed when surrounded by ladies. Two young girls near "Moss Neck" asked for a lock of his hair, and he was so overcome that he had no defense. There was reticence as to his achievements. Lord Wolseley said that he could not get a word out of him about his battles; and

Mr. Lawler who wished to write a letter for the London *Times* said that Jackson talked for an hour about the English cathedrals, but nothing about campaigns in Virginia.

He was humane and felt deeply for those in any distress. For the suffering population in Fredericksburg, after the bombardment and the battle, he was greatly concerned. He issued an appeal to the officers and men of his command for their relief, and \$30,000 passed through my hands, the receipts for which from the mayor of the town are in the library of Fredericksburg. He owned two or three servants, purchased at their own solicitation, of a kind more burdensome than helpful. Of them he had constant remembrance, and when away in camp he made thoughtful provision for their wants. To a sick woman among his servants he wrote from the field a letter of the kindest sympathy and religious consolation. It was his own proposition to gather the negroes of Lexington into a Sunday-school and for five or six years, before he was called to the field, he conducted it and taught with a fidelity and zeal that could not have been excelled. A church for the colored people in the city of Roanoke has installed a handsome memorial window to the memory of Stonewall Jackson, placed there by the grateful devotion of a colored preacher who received his first religious instruction from Major Jackson.

During the winter at "Moss Neck" I had a boy as my servant from the town of Lexington, a lad both very black and very faithful. One day I was surprised to see the general eyeing him very closely as he worked about the camp fire. "Why, is that you, John?" the general suddenly asked, surprised and pleased. When I asked John afterwards how he came to know General Jackson, he said, "Oh, I know the major; the major made me get the catechism." He was one of the scholars of Jackson's Sunday-school, and he knew his catechism well.

As a general in the field, Jackson had an appreciation of artillery and an ultimate reliance on the bayonet. In strategy his *forte* was the aggressive, not the defensive. An attack on the flank or in some unexpected quarter, with concealment of the movement, was his chosen method.

He took a broadly intelligent view of the topography of the country and knew well his maps. He had a keen sense of the value of time and watched the sun or sat in his saddle with his watch in his hand. He made a careful estimate of the opposing general, weighed his own opportunity and difficulties, and carefully considered what his opponent would be likely to do.

He mystified and deceived his enemy by concealment from his own generals and his own staff. We were led to believe things that were very far from his purpose. Major Hotchkiss, his topographical engineer, said that the general would for hours study the map in one direction and would then at daylight move in the opposite direction.

Outwardly, Jackson was not a stone wall, for it was not in his nature to be stationary and defensive but vigorously active. He was like an avalanche coming from an unexpected quarter, like a thunderbolt from a clear sky. And yet he was in character and will more like a stone wall than any man I have known. On the field his judgment seemed instinctive. No one of his staff ever knew him to change his mind in battle. There was a short, quick utterance, like the flash of the will from an inspired intelligence, and the command was imperative and final. He was remarkable as a commander for the care of his troops and had daily knowledge of the work of all the staff departments—supply, medical, ordnance. He knew well the art of marching and its importance. His ten minutes rest in the hour was like the law of the Medes and Persians, and some of his generals were in frequent trouble for their neglect of it. Of such things he was careful, until the hour for action arrived, and then, no matter how many were left behind, he must reach the point of attack with as large a force as possible. He must push the battle to the bitter end and never pause until he had reaped the fruits of victory. Over and over again he rode among his advancing troops, with his hand uplifted, crying, "Forward, men, forward; press forward!"

He well understood that it was a volunteer and patriotic soldiery with which he had to do, not an army of regulars, disciplined and drilled and fought as a machine. The troops of

Jackson had, no doubt, as much of discipline and drill as they needed, and not enough to destroy their individuality or impair their splendid personal intelligence and unconquerable energy. They were as unlike as it was possible to be the six hundred who rode into the valley of death.

“Theirs not to make reply,
Theirs not to reason why.”

They were more like the band of Swiss patriots,

“When each one felt himself were he
On whose sole arm hung victory.”

Contented and happy in camp, in the field they asked only the will of their commander, and went into the fire of battle with a moral power that was irresistible. It was not for the defense of slavery that these men left their homes and suffered privation and faced the peril of battle. Bred in whatever school of American politics, these men believed, to a man, in the integrity and sovereignty of the commonwealth, and, like Robert E. Lee, they laid down everything and came to the borders to resist invasion at the call of the Mother. The troops that Stonewall Jackson led were like him, largely, in principle and in aim, and he rode among them as one of themselves—a war genius of their own breeding. “The true test of civilization,” says Emerson, “is not the census, nor the size of the cities, nor the crops; no, but the *kind of men* the country turns out.”

May I say a word as to his politics? General Jackson was a Democrat of the state rights' kind, and was known as such during all his life in Lexington. In this belief it is enough to say that he had been educated by the government of the United States in the Military Academy at West Point. The authority on the Constitution in which he had been instructed was the book of William Rawle, the distinguished lawyer and jurist of Pennsylvania, who says, “It depends on the State itself to retain or abolish the principle of representation, because it depends on

itself whether it will continue a member of the Union. To deny this right would be inconsistent with the principles on which all our political systems are founded, which is that the people have in all cases a right to determine how they will be governed." That this was the text-book taught at West Point has been established by General Fitzhugh Lee and is confirmed by the testimony of General Dabney H. Maury.

Moreover, the fact that the sovereignty of the American States, and their right to remain in or to withdraw from the Union, was taught in all parts of the land and accepted by the great body of the people in all the States could be shown abundantly. It was true in the State of Massachusetts, for example, as is evidenced by the words of Thomas Pickering, in 1803; of Josiah Quincy, in 1811; of John Quincy Adams, in 1839; and of Daniel Webster, in his speech at Capon Springs, 1851—down to and including Henry Cabot Lodge in his "Life of Webster." It is difficult to imagine that Stonewall Jackson could have been convicted of treason against the Constitution of the United States in any court in Massachusetts. He respected the flag of the Federal government so long as it represented the Constitution and the rights and liberties of the sovereign States. When it ceased to do this, and represented something else, he felt himself absolved from any obligation. If there was rebellion abroad in the land, he had no part in it.

Under Jackson's plain exterior, and in the daily discharge of his professor's work at Lexington, few suspected his genius. Sometimes men drew back as from an inner mystery, noted the mingled ambition and humility, the fire that would sometimes glow in the eye that was commonly patient,—a spirit that seemed ready to burst out in some great deed or marvelous career.

Mrs. Margaret Preston, as we are told in her *Life*, accompanied Major Jackson and his bride, who was her sister, on their bridal tour. At Quebec, on the Heights of Abraham, Jackson stood by the monument of Wolfe. To her amazement he seemed transfigured. He stood erect and thrilled with passion, when he read aloud the inscription, the dying words of Wolfe, "I die content," and cried, with a passionate movement of the arm,

"To die as he died, who would not die content?" Long and well she had known him, and now came the revelation of a war spirit which slumbered within and was awakened by this monument to a heroic soldier and his noble sacrifice.

Jackson has been sometimes represented as stern, gloomy, and devoid of humor. But serious-minded as he was, earnest and strong-willed, reticent and exacting of himself, he was not at all without humor, that saving element of sane and normal humanity. Again and again he relaxed into playfulness and joined heartily in the merriment of his circle. The intimate and personal picture of Jackson in the home, given in the memoirs of the general by his wife, shows him to have been a gentle and affectionate man, never happier than when in a rollicking play with children.

In the home of Dr. Graham of Winchester, where he and Mrs. Jackson were guests the first winter of the war, one evening after tea, Captain Lawrence Marye of the artillery went off into a noisy gale of frolic. He pretended to regard as a serious matter a playful difference between Dr. Graham and dear Mrs. Ann Magill. A mother-in-law was encroaching upon the rights of her son-in-law, who must be protected. The captain, mounted on the back of a sofa as a war horse, with vigorous commands arrayed the young men of the party, who with upturned chairs, from left and right, shelled the mother-in-law. In the uproar of the parlor battle the general came down, and looking in at the door, took in the scene with great delight. He cried, "Captain Marye, when the engagement is ended, you will please make an official report."

At the headquarters on the Massaponax in the spring of 1863, one afternoon the general grew weary of his work on official papers. Lying down on his cot, he asked whether there was not some wine in the wagons, and, to my surprise, directed me to bring in a bottle and ask the gentlemen of the staff to join him. Several of our traveled party, Col. Charles J. Faulkner, former U. S. Minister to France, Dr. Hunter McGuire, and others had been discussing the wines of France and Italy. Jackson begged them to tell him from what part of Europe this wine

had come. It was really a home-made wine from a vineyard at Front Royal in the Valley of Virginia. The discussion was earnest and continued, the general smothering his amusement in his pillow.

One day a letter came addressed to Mr. Stone W. Jackson, and beginning, "May it please your lordship!" An Irishwoman, not long from the old country, wrote begging "His Lordship" to release her husband, then in a guard house for drunkenness. The general was greatly amused.

Expecting one day to entertain a party of notable visitors, he sent to his commissary a request that he would send some chickens to the headquarters mess. But the commissary, Major Hawkes, replied that he had no chickens, the *hawks* had eaten them up. The general laughed heartily at this perhaps not very brilliant pun. Not given to telling humorous stories, he enjoyed them thoroughly and was altogether normal in his perception of humor.

That there must be discipline in an army will be universally accepted. The life and force of a military organization is in subordination, obedience to orders, the sacrifice of self and all selfish interests to the success of the command and the cause. Jackson, himself a man of strong convictions and strong will, of unquestioning belief in the righteousness of the cause and of entire self-devotion, required obedience and expected efficient service. For the selfishly ambitious, for the self-indulgent, the idle and indifferent to duty, he had only rebuke, perhaps contempt.

Neglect of duty, cowardice, disobedience might, and sometimes did, cost the lives of many, risked the loss of a battle, the occupation of a section of country and the destruction of many homes, and was besides demoralizing to a whole command. There were officers, not many but some, who for such things merited and received severe reproof. They had disgraced themselves and were removed from command.

One such act of rigid justice gave strength and confidence to a whole division. The private soldier justly felt that it was in his defense that the incompetent or unworthy officer was removed and sent to the rear. The discipline of the corps was one

of the prime elements of its strength. Cases of military discipline occurred in which Jackson seemed to some to be unjust and autocratic. Officers of high rank and proved ability sometimes fell under his displeasure and were suspended from command. Jackson was not infallible, nor did he think himself infallible, but with him the success of the cause was a thousand times more important than the name or fame of any man. No doubt he was sometimes mistaken in his judgment, but again and again he corrected the mistake and righted the wrong that had been done as far as possible. There was the reconciliation with Gregg on his deathbed, at which I was present, when Jackson knew nothing of some supposed alienation which Gregg regretted. A somewhat similar reconciliation occurred between Jackson and A. P. Hill, when Jackson's head lay on the breast of Hill at Chancellorsville. I found that our great chief was just to both men.

Would he have been successful if he had had an independent command, had been the commander of an army in the field?

I think he would. He was successful, perhaps most successful, when in independent command, in the Valley campaign, and at the Second Manassas, in his great manoeuvre, before Lee arrived with Longstreet's corps. He had large and effective administrative ability. He had the will of a vast energy, and he imparted this energy to those under his command.

Would Jackson have had a career of distinction if there had been no war? There was no indication of it. He was not successful as a teacher. In civil life he was not a public leader, nor was he ambitious to be a leader. The war was the opportunity for the display of his genius. It stirred his heart with a great passion, hardened his convictions of right into an immovable rock, awakened to life and activity his slumbering genius. It found him prepared. Without the war, I do not conceive of a notable career for him.

CHAPTER X.

JACKSON'S RELIGIOUS CHARACTER.

An Address at Lexington, Va.

It is not an accident that in the impressive exercises with which you open this building, there is a place assigned for the religious character of him whose name is here to abide. It is not only that any study of Jackson's character and career would be incomplete, but that it would be wholly unphilosophical and untruthful, without a statement of that which lay so effectively in his heart, and covered so entirely all that we know of him.

It was Thomas Carlyle who said, "A man's religion is the chief fact with regard to him." And more than of any man of renown of modern times, it is true of Jackson that his religion was the man himself. It was not only that he was a religious man, but he was that rare man among men to whom religion was everything.

It is a remarkable fact that Oliver Cromwell, the great Puritan protector, of whom Thackeray spoke as "our great king," whose whole career has been the study of historians and critics, is in our day receiving a final study in his personal religion. Eminent critics are telling us that the campaigns of Jackson will be the study and admiration of military schools for centuries to come. However true that may be, of this we are sure, the religion of Stonewall Jackson will be the chief and most effective way into the secret springs of the character and career of this strange man, who as the years go by is rising into the ranks of the great *soldier-saints* of history—Saint Louis of France, Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, Oliver Cromwell of England, Gordon of China and Khartoum, Stonewall Jackson of America.

In the brief address I am to make to-day, in the hurried sketch I am to attempt of the inner springs of life and power in the story of Stonewall Jackson, I cannot be unmindful of the

laws of heredity and the strong inbred qualities that came in the blood of a stalwart race. Nor can I forget the discipline of the hard life of his childhood, a homeless orphan boy drifting from place to place, and in the tenderest years of youth unprotected and exposed, seeking his bread as he could find it. Certainly, I must not fail to recall that a mother of piety and love left him a little child of seven years, with nothing of religious instruction, no mother's knee at which to say his childhood's prayer, nothing to gentle and refine, nothing to restrain and guide him into an upright manhood, save the one unfading memory of that mother's love and parting blessing. Running away from a harsh and unloving home, with an older brother boating on the Ohio, camping in hunger and cold, riding an uncle's horses on a race-course, attempting the rude work of a country constable in the mountains of West Virginia, there was absolutely no instruction, no counsel, and no ruling authority in all the young years of growth and formation.

It is marvelous indeed that out of such a youth, he came with purity and integrity, truthful, honest, modest, and writing in rude characters that first brave maxim of life, "You may be whatever you resolve to be." I can find no mark of conscious religious sentiment in all this, though I see plainly the directing hand of a Divine Providence fitting for a short life as rare and disciplined within as it was brilliant and heroic without.

The thoughts of religion began to stir his heart under the influence of a pious friend at West Point, and were felt with some power when, a young lieutenant at Fort Hamilton, he was, of his own desire, baptized into the Christian faith by an Episcopal clergyman. They were moving effectually upon heart and conscience, when in the City of Mexico, applauded and promoted for conspicuous bravery, with a rare candor and open-heartedness he sought instruction of a bishop of the Catholic church, of whom he was accustomed to speak with the most sincere respect. The truths of the religion of Christ found a deep and abiding place in his heart in the more quiet and regulated conditions of his first years in Lexington, when under the ministry of the venerable Presbyterian pastor, Dr. William S. White, he made a

public confession of his personal faith in Christ. Acknowledging his ignorance of religious truth, he came with entire candor and simplicity to be taught as a little child. The truths he heard were not wholly clear to him, and some things he antagonized with an honesty and courage that were most admirable in the sincere seeker after truth. Only through the long process of study, reflection and prayer, was he led into a clear vision of the great essential truths of evangelical religion. As they came out, like stars fixed in the firmament of his upward gaze, he bowed his head and his heart and gave them their rightful authority over all his manhood.

The inspired Psalmist declares of the wicked man, "*God is not in all his thoughts.*" The supreme fact in the character of Jackson was that far beyond any man of whom we read, "*God was in all his thoughts.*"

It was not one truth or another about God, or one feature of our Christian religion rather than another, that became real and dominant to him; but God, God himself, the living, personal and present God, became the one transcendent fact that dwelt in all his thoughts, and possessed his whole being. It was not God only as the surpassingly glorious subject of reflection, or as living and working and revealing himself in nature and in history, nor as partially known by Hebrew prophets in the childhood of humanity; but God revealed in Christ, the God of law and love, whose law is love, and whose love leads back to law.

I am careful to say this, that I may also say the supreme thought of God gave unity to his religion and unity to his life. As it went down into the hidden nature within it, it possessed the whole man with unwonted power, and made him one and the same, a man of God within and without. Unto a personal and present God he gave the undivided faith of his heart. He acknowledged His supreme authority as Maker and Redeemer over every part of his being, and every breath of his life, and to that authority he bowed his will implicitly. "He came nearer putting God in God's place," said Dr. Stiles, "than any man we have ever known." And in this he puts himself in the one rightful place to which man belongs, the humblest and the most

majestic, the strongest, the safest, and the happiest that man can ever occupy.

It gave simplicity and directness and personal humility in an uncommon degree. All things were viewed in the light of the supreme fact of God. All things were referred to it. All things were submitted to the rulings of that fact. It covered all other facts, all other truth, it ruled all action, it answered all questions of duty, and made all his life and service one and simple forever.

How inevitably came his humility. He owed all to God, all that he was, all he had attained, all he had accomplished in classroom or on battlefield, and unto Him belonged all the praise and the glory. "God has given us a brilliant victory at Harper's Ferry to-day," he wrote from the field; "Our Heavenly Father blesses us exceedingly." On his camp-bed in the Wilderness hospital, when I read General Lee's magnanimous note congratulating him on the victory Jackson had won at Chancellorsville, he replied with emotion, "General Lee is very kind to me, but he should give the glory to God!"

How unquestionable was his dependence! As he lifted his hand in the morning twilight, riding down to the field of Fredericksburg, he said, "I trust our God will give us a great victory to-day, captain!"

How immediately came his obedience! A friend in Lexington asked him whether he would obey, if the Lord bade him leave the home he loved and all that it contained, and go on some mission to Africa. He rose and with intense feeling and prompt decision declared, "I would go without my hat." And asked if it were required of him to give up the activity and happiness of life, the exquisite happiness of *energy*, and lie on a bed of pain, he said, "I could lie there a thousand years without a murmur, if I knew it to be the will of my heavenly Father!"

I have been accustomed to recall two notable things in the religion of Jackson: his belief in the *providence of a present* God, ruling and directing in wisdom, power and goodness in all the affairs of men; and his consequent belief in the right and *power of prayer* to Him whose ears are always open to the cry of His children, and who is ready to hear and answer above all that His

children can ask or think. He was, as all knew who were at all in touch with his daily life, a man of prayer,—humble, trustful, confident prayer, from which he came as the saint comes, with unspeakable joy in his heart, and serenity in all his face and bearing.

It is an old jest that the Puritan could scarcely be said to enjoy his religion; but if Jackson were in any sense a Puritan, his personal happiness was unbroken and abiding. The performance of duty was not hard, because the fear of the Lord he loved and served was the only fear he knew. There was no asceticism in his life, because there was no gloom in his heart. "I do rejoice," he said, "to walk in the love of God."

There were not lacking those who neither knew nor understood the character of Jackson, or had the most remote conception of the truth and power of his religion. If it appeared to any that sternness and rigidity marred his character, it was only because in such rare degree among men he lived and acted from deep conviction of duty, and that was strange to us. Whatever was remarkable about his personal bearing, and was sometimes criticised or ridiculed, was due to the absolute possession of him the great things of religion had taken.

These were the things that were the strong iron of his blood; they were the constant inspiration of his gentler, simpler life in his Lexington home, and as well the animating power of his matchless campaigns that have given him undying fame.

His patriotism was a duty to God. His obedience to the State that called him to the field was made clear and plain to him, as obedience to God. All soldierly duty was rendered as a service to his God. He loved and revered the Sabbath day with great ardor; yet on a Sabbath morning he came from his knees in his happy home, turned away from the services of the sanctuary he loved, and buckling on his sword, took command of the cadet corps on yonder parade grounds, and spoke out clear and sharp, his first command in the Civil War, "Battalion, march!" He went without fear, without regret, without selfish ambition, to the unknown fortunes of war. Whatever was the marvelous development of soldierly qualities, of brilliant generalship, what-

ever the story of campaign and victory, from which he never asked a furlough and from which he never returned, he was the same devout and single-hearted servant of the living God.

Capable of anger and indignation in high degree, he had cultivated a self-control that gave him a self-mastery that was sometimes marvelous. An officer of rank came one Sunday afternoon to the little office building at "Moss Neck" to urge his personal application for a leave of absence. He violated the guard, and entered General Jackson's private apartment without announcement. Never had I seen General Jackson so surprised and then so angry. His face flushed, his form grew erect, his hands were clenched behind his back, he quivered with the tremendous effort at self-control. And no word was permitted to pass his lips until his passion was entirely mastered, when he quietly explained wherein the unfortunate colonel was violating all rules and all propriety, and sent him to his quarters, the most thoroughly whipped man I ever saw.

Having strong attachment to the church of which he was member, and positive convictions concerning what he thought was true and right, he was yet generous and catholic in his esteem of all other churches, and had sincere respect for the views of others. Ruling himself with a severe discipline in things he deemed right, he was never censorious or dictatorial. He worshipped in all churches alike with devoutness and comfort. He encouraged the chaplains of all churches, Protestant and Catholic. A Protestant and a Presbyterian of Presbyterians, he obtained the appointment of a Catholic priest to a chaplaincy.

In nothing perhaps was the reality and power of his own religion so evident as in his interest in the religious welfare of others. With an unwearying diligence he conducted his Sunday-school for colored people. Visiting at Beverly, of his own volition he gathered the village people to instruct them himself in the truths of religion. He was profoundly interested in the work of the army chaplains, and used all his great influence and opportunity to sustain them. He was accustomed to make individual friends the subject of his earnest and continued prayer. He once came walking to the camp of the Rockbridge Artillery, asking

for a certain corporal and leaving a package for him in his absence. It was a matter of intense curiosity in the camp, as perhaps containing some handsome gift or unexpected promotion for the corporal; who, when he returned to camp, found the package to contain religious tracts for distribution among his comrades.

Not at all devoid of jest was the earnest, reticent man. His fondness for General J. E. B. Stuart was very great, and the humor and frolic of that genial and splendid cavalryman was a source of unbounded delight. Dr. George Junkin, President of Washington College, and father of the first Mrs. Jackson, went back to Pennsylvania, at the opening of the war, and wrote a vigorous book on the errors into which he believed the South had fallen. He forwarded a copy of his book, under a flag of truce, from General Hooker's headquarters to General Lee's. It came to us about the time of the battle of Fredericksburg, and when I opened the package, and told our general its title, "Political Heresies," he said with a grim smile, "I expect it is well named, captain; that's just what the book contains, 'Political Heresies.'"

I remember that two young girls in a mansion on the Rapahannock were with great earnestness asking for locks of his hair. Blushing like a girl himself, he pleaded that they had so much more hair than he had, then that he had gray hairs, and their friends would think he was an old man. They protested that he had no gray hair, and was not an old man, when he said, "Why, don't you know the boys call me 'Old Jack?'"

The stern warrior was one of the gentlest of men. He had the tenderest affection for little children. Little Janie Corbin was a pleasure and delight to him in the afternoons of his days of office toil at "Moss Neck", as she folded paper and cut lines of soldiers and paraded them on his table. He heard from me of her death with an outburst of tears and a convulsed frame.

It was complained by one of his distinguished generals of division, in a severe paper, that ladies,—mothers, wives and daughters,—had invaded the vicinity of our camps, and were diverting officers and men from military duty. When that paper was read

to him, Jackson rose and paced the room impatiently, and to the request that he would order the ladies to retire, he said, "I will do no such thing; I am glad my people can have their friends with them; I wish my wife could come to see me."

No one who ever entered his house or obtained access to his office at his corps headquarters can forget the marked courtesy with which he was received. His attention was the same to his guest, whether he was the general commanding, or a private soldier. Your hat was taken by his own hands, and his own black stool from the mess-hall of this Institute must be your seat while you were his guest.

Are those the things that mark the gentleman? Are purity and truth, modesty and courtesy the things by which we know him? These things he had, not by conventionality, but as the constant expression of a gentle nature, and the fruit of religious principle. An English gentleman of rank, and of large touch with polite society, at the end of a week's sojourn, spent chiefly in General Jackson's room, said, "He is a revelation to me; Jackson is the best informed soldier I have met in America, and as perfect a gentleman as I have ever known!"

How surpassingly fitting it seems that the two Virginia heroes of our civil war should meet again and find their resting place in tombs so near; in this retired place among the strong mountains of the State they loved so well! How unlike they were in many things, in origin, in culture, in family tradition, in the conventionalities of society, and in knowledge of the world! How much alike they were in unselfish devotion to the same cause, in true and simple piety, and in the generous honor that each paid to the other! They who set one over against the other, and study to give either one the greater glory of this campaign or that, do an unworthy violence to their spirit, and are rebuked in the presence of their silent tombs. Two lofty peaks, they stand on fame's eternal camping-ground, each giving unfading glory to the other.

How happy and hopeful it is that here the young men of Virginia, from mountains and low-lands alike, are to be gathered in growing numbers, and to be trained for life under the per-

vading inspiration of names and stories, than which none in all history are more true and effulgent in all things pure and lovely and of good report. If any young man shall go out from the institutions of Lexington to anything in life that is corrupt, or unmanly, or forgetful of the honor of Virginia, he will do so against the example and the appeal of Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson.

Ten years of faithful toil Jackson gave to the Virginia Military Institute, with difficulties that have not always been well understood. Through uncounted years to come his great name will rest upon this building as a benediction! The memory of the soldier and his campaigns and victories will abide in this hall, and the spirit of the honest and God-fearing Christian gentleman will come back to speak forever of that fear of God which is the beginning of wisdom, and of that simple and humble faith which is the sure and only way to enduring honor and exaltation.

In the lowly building at Guinea Station, where he lay suffering, failing, dreaming, passing away, he spoke of a grave "in Lexington, in the Valley of Virginia." And then his thoughts so easily passed to another rest, and other shades.

CHAPTER XI.

JACKSON IN THE LONG ROLL.

"The Long Roll" is a work of historical fiction from the brilliant mind and pen of Miss Mary Johnston, the author of "To Have and To Hold," "Lewis Rand," and other stories of Virginia life at different periods. "The Long Roll" has been read by many in all sections of the land and will be read no doubt for years to come. It is a story of love and adventure, of manly courage and heroism, wrought into the history of the War between the States, and especially the war career of Stonewall Jackson. As is always true in Miss Johnston's literary work, there is much of vivid and charming description of nature in all its moods, with the poet's eye and the artists's pen. And yet more vivid and thrilling are the descriptions of the soldier's life in camp, on the march, with the privations and sufferings of a winter's campaign in the mountains and the awful tragedy of the battlefields in the Tidewater. There is throughout the book a just and stirring portrayal of the spirit of the splendid soldiery of the Army of Northern Virginia, the heroic men of the ranks, their utter sacrifice and patience and courage, their high aims, devotion to duty, their comradeship and hero-worship. The heroes, the greater heroes of the ranks, are those who without reward or applause gave their lives for their country and their homes; and the story of the coward and the deserter but adds to the color of the picture of the true and steadfast.

One is surprised at the extensive knowledge of the details of the campaigns and the gathering of so much of incident and story both of the leaders and of the ranks. Especially is the reader surprised that a woman should have gathered so much of the detail of march and battle, at the cost of a long period of industry, you may be sure.

The accounts of profane swearing are greatly exaggerated, we are confident, and the frequent introduction of profane lan-

guage is much to be regretted. These things are not necessary to the story, and not to any such extent true to history. They are to be regretted in a book to be read by many of our boys and are not just to the character of their fathers. The gentlemanly behavior of officers of all ranks repressed any such profane habits whenever they came into the army. The few men of prominence who were known to be profane in speech in times of excitement and passion themselves felt the repression of the noble men of character and piety who were their leaders, and in later years they left the bad habit behind them.

Richard S. Ewell, Jackson's trusted division commander and his successor in command of the Second Corps, is represented as frequently uttering profane oaths. One, who after Jackson's death served on the staff of General Ewell and was in intimate personal contact with him, is ready to testify that he never heard him utter an oath, but knew him as a Christian gentleman, reverent, devout, and free from the habit of profanity. Losing a leg at the Second Manassas, he was for some time an invalid in Richmond, during which time he made a confession of Christ, from which he never declined. There may be those in Richmond who yet remember the day when General Ewell went up the aisle of St. Paul's church on his crutches and was confirmed, probably by the venerable Bishop Johns.

The readers of "The Long Roll" well do well to remember that this is a book of fiction, and the author uses the novelist's right of imagination. Like all historical fiction, it is impossible to draw the lines between the history and the fiction. The author's view of the history, her conceptions of the character of historic men, will color the picture, with depreciation here and exaggeration there.

Those living to-day who knew General Thomas J. Jackson, and especially those who followed him and came to trust, to admire and to love him, will not be satisfied with the strange and homely picture given as a frontispiece in "The Long Roll," uncouth, misshapen, almost monstrous. It would have been more true and just if the artist had reproduced the Beresford-Hope statue, with its force and dignity; or the yet more faithful front-

face of the Routzahn Winchester photograph. "The Long Roll" picture is an unfortunate caricature, forbidding as it is unjust. With a bland countenance and courteous manner, Jackson was erect and soldierly in bearing, riding with natural and unaffected ease. If in the strenuous Valley campaign his forage cap and uniform were sunburnt and worn, it was not from neglect of dress, but from the thoroughness with which he shared the exposures of his army. Nor was his horse, the Little Sorrel, as distinguished from a larger sorrel he sometimes rode, the unfed and bony animal here described. Compact and easily kept, the Little Sorrel was always in good condition, receiving the daily attention of its master.

Some of the strong features of his character and bearing as a commanding officer are well described, though not without some exaggeration; his reticence and secretiveness, his will power and determination, his prompt decision on the field, his expectation and requirement of obedience to orders and fidelity to duty. With strong convictions of the right and justice of his cause, with a great personal devotion to that cause, with a deep and strong moral purpose, he expected fidelity and efficiency from all his officers and men. For men of self-indulgence, of personal ambition, of indifference to duties on which depended the safety and welfare of others in the army and in the homes of the people, and the success of the campaign, he would have no toleration. To many he seemed occupied, abrupt, sometimes severe, so intense was his effort to discharge all duty and secure the success of the cause.

Some things in the account of his personality are overdrawn. He was not uncouth and ungainly in appearance and manner. In his bearing and intercourse he was a gentleman of naturalness and simplicity, very gentle in the expression of his face and courteous and considerate in manner. He was accessible on reasonable conditions to officers of all ranks and to private soldiers. In personal habits he was cleanly and neat, without affectation or display.

To men outside of army life, to very young and inexperienced men, no doubt he often seemed a mystery, strange, stern,

unkind and unjust. Stories went abroad that were more or less untrue. Miss Johnston describes him as esteemed, "harsh, hostile and pedantic," "awkward, hyponchondriac, literal, strict."

Readers of "The Long Roll" will do well to remember that Stonewall Jackson was an educated gentleman, pure and upright in life, and of constant association with the best classes of society. He was twice married, most happily, in families of high standing and culture. In Lexington his daily associates were the first gentlemen of Virginia.

For the first winter of the war, when his army was not in the field, Jackson and his wife were at home in the family of the Rev. James R. Graham, D. D., of Winchester, a home of such gentle courtesy, refinement and intelligence as we have not often known; and there he was esteemed and loved as a gentleman of a courtesy that could not be excelled.

The changing staff he gathered about him included cultivated men of the highest class, who, without exception, came to trust, to admire, and to love him, and to whom he was full of consideration—such men as Colonel J. T. L. Preston, Colonel Stapleton Crutchfield, Dr. Hunter McGuire, Dr. R. L. Dabney, Colonel A. S. Pendleton, Colonel Edward Willis. He was the friend and associate of Robert E. Lee and J. E. B. Stuart, of Richard S. Ewell, W. B. Taliaferro, John B. Gordon and others, with whom he was in frequent and cordial intercourse and at whose table he was often the most welcome guest.

He won the profound respect of distinguished visitors, such men as Lord Wolseley, Colonel Freemantle, Mr. Lawler, Lord Hartington, later the Duke of Devonshire, and his friend, Colonel Leslie, who were entertained by him with cordial hospitality, each one for a week or more.

Repeatedly "The Long Roll" speaks of Jackson's "jerking" his hand up, an uncouth description of a gesture sometimes observed, but certainly not habitual. He was slightly wounded in the left hand at the First Manassas, and until that was well healed he sometimes held that hand up as giving relief to an interrupted circulation of blood. The writer of this paper rode with the general in the early dawn of the morning to the battlefield of

Fredericksburg. Silent, occupied as he was, I dropped behind him and saw him raise his right hand, not the left, making the impression that he was engaged in prayer, looking for guidance and help to the God he trusted and served. It was the only time I saw the gesture or heard of it, and there was no awkward "jerking" of the hand.

It was not true that General Jackson was devoid of humor. That, indeed, would have shown him an abnormal man, devoid also of sanity. His happy domestic life described in Mrs. Jackson's charming "Memoirs of Stonewall Jackson," shows him fond of play, sometimes to a ludicrous extent. At "Moss Neck," through the last winter of his life, he made himself the playmate of Janie Corbin, the sweet child of six years with whom he played and romped for an hour or more each afternoon. He enjoyed the table talk of staff and guests and laughed heartily at the stories of some of the best conversationalists we have ever known. No guest received so cordial a welcome as General Stuart, whose gayety and exuberance of spirits gave him the greatest delight. It was the general's own humor that set certain traveled gentlemen of his party to discussing the part of France from which a bottle of wine came which was really made at Front Royal in the Valley of Virginia.

Some things in the career of Stonewell Jackson, of which Miss Johnston does not hesitate to give her judgment, are too serious and difficult for discussion in this paper. There were cases of military discipline in which he seemed to some unjust and unrelenting. He was not infallible; nor did he think himself infallible; but with his high sense of duty and his entire devotion to the cause, it was inevitable that some men should cross his path. No doubt he was sometimes mistaken; but this is certainly true, he bore no ill will to any one and put away as unworthy of him any thought of recrimination against those who made charges against him.

The much discussed delays at Gaines' Mill and Savage's Station will continue to be problems for the military student and will yet find solutions in which the integrity and fidelity of Jackson will not be questioned in the slightest degree. Those who fol-

lowed Jackson may rest assured that in the farther research which military history in this country and abroad is giving to these problems there will be nothing to dim the glory of their great captain.

Most of all do we regret that "The Long Roll" has no adequate conception of the religious character of Stonewall Jackson. It presents him as "a patriotically devoted fatalist and enthusiast." To this author he was evidently a fanatic, liable at times to a religious obsession that made him unfit for duty, for all of which there is absolutely no foundation whatever.

Stonewall Jackson was a Christian believer of a very distinct and simple character. His religion had taken hold, deep and lasting, of his whole being. He was devout and reverent, humble, steadfast, prayerful in spirit, and faithful in duty. Ruling his own life strictly according to the will of God which he sought to know, he respected the views of others. He worshipped in the churches of all denominations with satisfaction and comfort, and he gladly assisted the chaplains from all the churches in their work. He was neither bigot nor fanatic. He was personally interested in securing a Catholic chaplain for a Louisiana regiment largely composed of men of Roman Catholic faith. His religion made him not austere and severe, but gentle and catholic in spirit and generous in conduct.

He was in a marked degree sensitive to the wants and troubles of those in any distress. He was deeply concerned for the suffering people of Fredericksburg under bombardment and the destruction of battle. To the colored people of Lexington he gave his personal ministry and effort. For a man condemned for desertion to the enemy he was much grieved and himself directed the ministration of a godly chaplain. In all this religious life there was nothing abnormal or forbidding. On the contrary, it deeply and winningly impressed those who were about him, and by his example some were led to a new and happier life.

One cannot but wonder from what source the author of "The Long Roll" derived her conceptions of the great man of whom she writes. It was not from Dr. Dabney or Dr. McGuire, mem-

bers of his staff and his trusted and intimate friends. Nor is it the picture given by the accomplished English soldier and author, Colonel G. R. F. Henderson; and very far removed is it from the noble and gentle man of whom his wife writes in her intimate and attractive memoirs.

It will be a wrong to him who so freely gave his great abilities and his brilliant services to the Confederacy of the South, and finally gave his life to his country, to consent without protest to this most unfortunate picture of the spirit and career of this great man. And it will be an unmeasured loss to generations to come if a picture so marred be retained in the thought and memory of our people.

CHAPTER XII.

LORD ROBERTS' ESTIMATES OF HIS MILITARY GENIUS—AN EXTRACT FROM AN INTERVIEW WITH IRVIN S. COBB, GIVEN IN THE *Saturday Evening Post*, DEC. 19, 1914.

Lord Roberts showed a particular animation and interest in speaking of our Civil War. He displayed an intimate knowledge of the campaigns of 1861-65 and of the leaders on both sides; and when he learned that McCutcheon was the son of a Union soldier and that I was the son of a Confederate soldier, he began plumping questions at us which I, when my turn would come, found it embarrassing to answer inasmuch as he had a better acquaintance with the things regarding which he asked than I ever hope to have.

"I am sorry," he said, "that I have never been in the States. I have visited Canada and I wish I had visited your country. I have often regretted that I failed to take advantage of my opportunity to tour the United States. I would give a good deal to be able to say that I had gone over the country where the chief operations of your great war took place and the spots where the principal battles were fought. America produced some magnificent soldiers in those four years—and the greatest of them, to my way of thinking, was Jackson—Stonewall Jackson.

"In my opinion Stonewall Jackson was one of the greatest natural military geniuses the world ever saw. I will go even further than that—as a campaigner in the field he never had a superior. In some respects I doubt whether he ever had an equal."

Here some one of us was moved to repeat the story told of Jackson, that he read only two books in the latter years of his life—the Bible and the Campaigns of Napoleon.

"Not so bad a choice—if a man had to confine his library to only two books," said Lord Roberts, who himself, as we knew, was of a deeply religious nature; "an admirable choice for a

soldier, at any rate. Any soldier might learn much by studying the campaigns of Napoleon, and Napoleon might have learned a good deal, too, by studying the campaigns of Jackson, had the order of the times in which the two men lived been reversed."

Lord Northcliffe remembered he had somewhere read that Jackson preferred to fight his battles on Sunday, because, believing, as he did, that he was doing the Lord's work in smiting the North, he regarded the Lord's Day as fittest for the smiting.

"I'm afraid the rule has not held good for other men," commented Lord Roberts. "I recall that, once in my younger days in India, I was sent into a fight on Sunday and we got most soundly drubbed. Since then I have always been an advocate of the theory that the best day on which to win a battle is the day on which you can win it. But, speaking of Jackson, I wish one of you younger men would tell me more about him. Cannot one of you recall some personal, intimate story about him? I should like to know more of his human side."

So we told him what we could remember of Jackson's manifold peculiarities, and he did not seem to tire of listening. Later in the day Lord Northcliffe told us that Lord Roberts had been instrumental in introducing the History of Jackson's Campaigns as a text-book into the English Military College at Sandhurst; and that when students from Sandhurst came to see him, as they frequently did, he was much given to quizzing them on their knowledge of the subject.

During the course of the afternoon, in passing through the library of the house, I came on a steel engraving of the Southerner, placed against the wall where it faced Lord Roberts when he sat at his desk.

LORD WOLSELEY.

From a letter of Colonel Willoughby Verner.

"It is no exaggeration to say that Colonel Henderson's 'Life of Stonewall Jackson' is viewed by all educated British officers as one of the very finest works of military art. But if you want to have an idea of what we think of this book, and of the great

soldier whose life it records, I would refer you to what our great chief, the late Field Marshal Viscount Wolseley, thought and said and wrote about him.

"Lord Wolseley was without question the first soldier of our day, both as regards his military knowledge and his experiences of war. Others have no doubt become heroes with the mob, but long after these are forgotten Wolseley and the great work he did for the British army will endure.

"In his own autobiography (Vol. II., p. 117), published in 1903, he writes: 'Henderson's delightful and instructive work on Stonewall Jackson and the American civil war I recommend to all our officers. They would find its well-told story as intensely interesting as its teaching is sound and full of useful advice to Englishmen of today.'

"Few people nowadays know that in 1862 Wolseley, then a lieutenant-colonel on the staff in Canada, obtained leave of absence on private affairs and, unknown to his chiefs, succeeded in joining Lee's army (as a spectator of course). Here it was that he met several of the famous soldiers of those days, and among them Stonewall Jackson, of whom he writes (pp. 138-139): 'What a hero, and yet how simple and humble-minded a man!'

"Comparing Jackson with his great chief, Lee, he says: 'Both were great soldiers, yet neither had any Gothlike delight in war.' What a lesson for the destroyers of Rheims!

"It was my honor to serve on Lord Wolseley's staff on active service, and to have seen a good deal of him during his latter days; and I repeatedly have heard him talk with enthusiasm of the soldierly qualities of Lee, Stonewall Jackson and other leaders whom he met during those eventful days in America."

SIR JOHN FRENCH.

Field Marshal Sir John French in a conversation with Mr. Frederick Palmer of the Associated Press compared Jackson to Cromwell. General Lee he held the greatest of American generals. Speaking of them, he said:

"To me General Jackson was more like Cromwell than any

other leader of history. A heroic, martial figure, whose wonderful career came to the happy close a soldier desires in the hour of victory. I have followed all his marches and battles with unflagging admiration. He had the religious exaltation of Cromwell, his dash and determination and his ready strategy and the genius of inspiring his troops with his own indomitable spirit of energy."

JAMES FORD RHODES in the *History of the United States*:

"The most striking figure of the war on the Southern side, 'Stonewall' Jackson, has the fascination of a character of romance. No characterization of him has fully satisfied his admirers. To some he seems to be made up of contradictions: to others a rare consistency appears to run through his mature life. Growing up in a community of western Virginia where morals were loose and where the sentiment was irreligious, he developed in manhood a piety which had it not been so manly and consistent would seem extreme and fanatical. As a youth racing horses with a jockey's skill and an eager frequenter of merry-makings, a gay young officer in the city of Mexico after its capture, eating dinners prepared by Parisian art, and participating with the dark-eyed *senoritas* in the wild delights of the dance, he took, after making a public profession of his faith, the attitude towards worldly amusements of a New England Puritan. No man was more devout. With an unquestionable faith in a God who directed by continual interposition human affairs, his religion became a part of his being, influencing every act. When misfortune and sorrow came his comfort lay in the reflection, 'We know that all things work together for good to them that love God.' His communion with his Maker seemed complete. He prayed without ceasing, supplicating the throne of grace for the most common things and asking divine guidance in the most trivial affairs of life. He said that the habit of prayer had become with him almost as fixed as the habit of breathing. His reverence for ministers of the Gospel, his thoughtful analysis of their sermons, his profound respect for their exposition of Bible

texts call to mind the regard paid the preacher in the colonial days of Massachusetts, when he was, indeed, the wisest man in the community. These traits were a rightful inheritance from Jackson's Scotch-Irish ancestry. His observance of the Sabbath was extremely rigorous, yet he was no Pharisee, for it was in full keeping with the rest of his life.

"He imposed upon himself the severest bodily discipline, having always the same care of his physique as an athlete in training. He loved liquor, but would not drink it. 'I am more afraid of it,' he said during the war, 'than of Federal bullets.' In his mental operations he was rigidly methodical. Not well prepared at the time of his entrance to West Point, he made up in industry what, owing to his poverty and the necessity that compelled him to work on his uncle's farm, he had lacked in opportunity. Inexperienced for his professional duties at the Virginia Military Institute, he fitted himself for his daily tasks by diligent study, and acquired by his habit of reflection a remarkable concentration of mind. Morally he was conscientious to a nicety that appears extreme, but his exact truthfulness and ready self-denial were traits of a noble soul. Had the war not occurred, had his own prayer and the prayer of righteous men averted, as he at one time hoped they would, the conflict between Christian peoples, Jackson would have been remembered in a small circle of Virginia as an eccentric professor, unpopular with his students and respected by serious men. But he was a born fighter, and the war breaking out when he was only 37, gave him his opportunity. One great principle of his life had been to obey orders, and such discipline he imposed on his men. Yet he won from them a love and devotion such as no other Southern general, except Lee, obtained.

"Jackson had no love for slavery, but believing that the Bible taught that it was ordained of God, he had no question that it was the best actual relation for the two races. A strict but kind master to his own slaves, he requested his wife to teach two of their negro boys to read, and he himself organized a Sabbath school for the instruction of the colored people of Lexington, in which until the war broke out, he labored with interest and zeal.

He was present in command of his cadets at the execution of John Brown. 'Awful was the thought,' he wrote to his wife, that John Brown might in a few minutes receive the sentence, "Depart, ye wicked, into everlasting fire." We sent up a petition that he might be saved.' Jackson was opposed to secession, but being a thorough State rights man, he had no difficulty about his duty after the decision of Virginia, and, firmly believing in the justice of the Southern cause, he threw himself into it with the ardor of a crusader."

CHAPTER XIII.

SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF MARY ANN JACKSON BY HER NIECE,
EUGENIA HILL ARNOLD.

One of the most interesting features of the recent session of the U. D. C. convention was the reading of a sketch of the life of Mrs. Stonewall Jackson, who died at her home in Charlotte, N. C., March 24, 1915. To add to the interest, the sketch was read by its author, Mrs. Eugenia H. Arnold, of Elkins, a niece of the great Southern leader.

It follows in full:

Madam President and Daughters of the Confederacy:

You have assigned to me a labor of love when you ask me to join you in a memorial of the late Mrs. Mary Anna Jackson, for six years the much loved wife, and then for fifty years the honored widow of "Stonewall" Jackson.

She lived all the years in that long half century in the hallowing light of a supreme loyalty to that one dear memory, and as every sacred loyalty must, it illuminated her life with a radiance that shone more and more to the perfect day. Associated with her from my earliest childhood, few people have impressed me more, and to very few have the warmest feelings of my heart gone out in more tender love.

Mrs. Jackson was the daughter of a Presbyterian minister, Dr. Robert Hall Morrison, the founder and first president of Davidson College. Her mother was Mary Graham, daughter of General Joseph Graham of Revolutionary fame and a sister of Governor William A. Graham. The little Anna was born near Charlotte, N. C., of which church her father was pastor. Her childhood was spent in the classic atmosphere of the college town of Davidson. She was educated in the well known Moravian school, at Salem, now Winston-Salem. Her alma mater always delighted to do her honor, by having her attend their commence-

ments ; they sent her a diploma in her old age, as they didn't give them when she graduated. They also gave her a scholarship, which was a great pleasure to her, for it enabled her to educate worthy young girls. We will give you this short account of her young ladyhood in her own words :

"Having seen a good deal of the world in her young days, my mother was anxious to give her daughters the same pleasure and we were indulged in charming trips whenever it was practicable ; but there being six daughters, we had to take these trips by turns. My first revelation of the gay world was a visit to my uncle in Washington, who was secretary of the navy during Mr. Fillmore's administration. Washington was then a rather small, old-fashioned city compared with its present expansion and magnificence, but to the little country girl in 1853, it was the grandest and most charming place that she had ever seen. Two other young ladies were guests of my uncle and we formed a most congenial and happy trio, during my delightful stay of four months. Being 'Cabinet Ladies' we of course were invited to all the grand entertainments, and though none of us were dancing girls (for myself, as a minister's daughter, it would not have been considered proper) certainly we did not need it to complete our enjoyment.

"One of our red-letter evenings was a social tea at the White House, the charming hostess, Miss Fillmore, being equal in cultivation and accomplishments to anyone who has filled the position of 'first lady of the land.' Her mother was living, and of course took precedence of the daughter but the latter was hostess to her young friends on this evening. We had some very delightful music on the harp, one lady singing 'Auld Robin Gray,' with exquisite beauty and pathos." Shortly after this, there was another of those delightful visits, even more momentous for her, for she and her younger sister visited my father and, tenderly nursed in one of Baltimore's hospitals, she came home deeply impressed with the benefits and blessings of hospitals ; so when the United Daughters of the Confederacy of Lexington asked to procure her old home for a museum to keep relics of her husband, she told them they could have it, but she preferred their

turning it into a hospital; so at her suggestion, the once happy home is now a refuge for the sick and suffering: she thought it far more important to care for the living, than for relics of the dead. Wherever she went, whether North or South, homage was paid her, but amid all the attention and adulation she remained her sweet and natural self. I'll here quote from one of her letters and you can see the reason for this.

After describing a visit to New Orleans for the unveiling of a statue there, and how royally they were received and how the hearts of the people were stirred to see the family of the hero they loved, she closes thus, "Julia (then a young girl) was enchanted with her trip and behaved beautifully, was sweet and gracious to everybody; she certainly was a belle for once, if never again. I do hope that she will not be spoiled by it all. I try so hard to keep her from being so, and making her realize that all the attention we receive is not for our own sake, but only a reflection of the glory won by the father, whose crowning glory was his humble, consecrated Christian life."

I must tell you of her great enjoyment and pleasure from her rare visits to your favored State. She seemed to revel in its beauties, because it was her husband's home, and he had talked to her so much of his affection for his native land.

Surrounded by the loving consideration of her grandchildren, she often said that her old age was the happiest period of her life, and why not, when she had reached the full fruition and knew how to live? It was only a step to know how to die, and for eight long months she patiently awaited the grim monster, and beckoned to him as to a welcome friend, daily longing for the Heavenly rest, which came March 24, 1915.

I could say much of her attractive personality, her great simplicity of character, her cordial, pleasing manner; of her bright wit and wonderful memory, which made her a charming conversationalist, but I feel that Mrs. Jackson would prefer that I should not eulogize her. It seems that I can almost hear her say: "Mine is only the reflected glory, give honor to whom honor is due, think of the living and forget the dead."

In her name, for I feel that Mrs. Jackson would approve

and endorse every word that I am saying, my plea for you to-day is to honor our heroes as they themselves would love best to be honored; not in monuments of stone and granite, for in time they too are gone, but let us erect to them living monuments in the Christian education of the youth of our land and other lands.

When a stranger asks, "What is the object of the Daughters of the Confederacy?" we answer, "Why to honor and keep alive the memory of our heroes." We are a great organization, in every State of the South; we wield power second to none. We are always interested in educational work. Why shouldn't we do sublime things in the name of our heroes? We will not longer be a Samson shorn of his locks, but will stretch forth our arms and feel our great strength; we will pull down the walls of prejudice and convention, and let us hear the crashing of these marble monuments around our devoted heads. I would love to predict that the day will come when no truly great man will be honored by a bronze monument. But people will say when they see one, "He must have been a second rate man or a third rate man, or his friends would not have allowed it." Did you ever analyze the inner life of our great heroes to see what made them great? To demonstrate my point, I will give you a few choice sayings from some of them. General Lee has left us these lofty words, and let them live as long as his noble memory: "Private and public life are subject to the same rules, and truth and manliness are two qualities that will carry you through this world much better than policy, or tact, or expediency or any other word that was ever devised to conceal or mystify a deviation from a straight line."

Let us hear, also, his manly justification for being our leader: "I did only what my duty demanded; I could have taken no other course without dishonor. And if all were to be done over again, I should act in precisely the same manner."

Stonewall Jackson, in an unpublished letter to his sister, and when only twenty-six years of age, wrote: "Rather than wilfully violate the known will of God, I would forfeit my life. Such a resolution I have taken and I will by it abide." In another letter, speaking of the comfort he received from the Scriptures, he wrote, "I would not part with the Bible for countless universes."

Woodrow Wilson, our hero of to-day, who acts as guardian both of our peace and honor, has told us, "Let us be too proud to fight." He also has said of the Bible, "It is the only guide of life which really leads the spirit in the way of peace and salvation." I give these quotations not to take your time, but to show of what stuff our heroes are made, and that it is the divine life in them that makes brave heroes and true patriots. God grant that it may be our duty and privilege to carry out their high ideals.

When that lovely woman in the White House passed away, the women of her church decided to build a memorial to her in the Christian education of the ignorant youth of our mountains, the people that she had labored for whilst living. Like all really beautiful sentiments, this one caught the divine spark within us and spread like wild fire (for the true beauty of it was in honoring her according to her own ideas and ideals). From a small beginning in her church this fund is now looming into the hundreds of thousands of dollars. Oh, what a grand memorial! A thousand years from now there will be living monuments to the goodness and sweetness of that one woman, Mrs. Woodrow Wilson. That quiet, unassuming life has accomplished far more for the good of humanity than Napoleon Bonaparte.

Our heroes were modest, unassuming Christian men. How they would shrink from seeing their faces and figures erected on these high pedestals, for all the world to gaze upon and do homage to their bones! But, instead, let us imagine a Christian school or hospital in the sin-darkened land of China, or else in the slums of America and see blazoned upon it, in letters of gold, "Sacred to the memory of Robert E. Lee." Oh, how his great heart would throb and his eyes kindle, and there would be a greater joy even in heaven! Stonewall Jackson felt his personal responsibility for our negroes; his most conspicuous work in the church was in teaching them. In a letter to his aunt I'll give you his account of it:

"My Heavenly Father has condescended to use me as an instrument in getting up a large Sabbath school for the negroes here. He has greatly blessed it, and I trust all who are connected with it." Let us think what it would be if every town and ham-

let in our land had a colored Sunday-school taught by whites, and called by his name. Let us not imagine it, but do it, and we would have no negro problem to solve. Let us build our greatest monument to him, not in Richmond, not in Lexington, not in Clarksburg, but let us have a wider vision, and see something like our great Johns Hopkins hospital in the wilds of Africa, for the moral and spiritual uplift of those utter savages, still savages in this, our twentieth century of civilization. Can you question which monument would be more pleasing to our hero? As if in answer to your question, I'll quote again from this same letter to his aunt: "The subject of becoming a herald of the cross has often seriously engaged my attention, and I regard it as the most noble of all professions. It was the profession of our Divine Redeemer, and I should not be surprised were I to die upon a foreign field, clad in ministerial armor, fighting under the banner of Jesus. What could be more glorious?" Couldn't we make it more glorious by fulfilling his vision? Mrs. Jackson gives this incident of her husband: "On one occasion, when talking of self-abnegation and making rather light of it, a friend suggested that he had not been called upon to endure it, and supposed a case: 'Imagine that the Providence of God seemed to direct you to drop every scheme of life and personal advancement and go on a mission to the heart of Africa, would you go?' His eyes flashed as he instantly replied, 'I would go without my hat.' And what place more appropriate to make my plea, than your fair city, which gave our hero to the world? Let the names of Clarksburg and Stonewall Jackson be linked together to all eternity, not in tablets of marble and bronze, but in the hearts of a neglected race that he labored for whilst on earth, and left to us his unfinished task. Why shouldn't Stonewall Jackson's own State honor him above all the States, in giving him a memorial that his own great soul would approve of?

My mother has told me that in my infancy, during a serious illness of pneumonia, the then Major Jackson was deeply concerned for my welfare and would frequently call to inquire. Sometimes he would relieve my weary parents and take in his strong but gentle arms that suffering child. I love to think that as he

paced the floor in his kindly ministry that a prayer must have ascended to heaven, not merely for the restoration of the child, but for her future usefulness. My dear Sisters of the Confederacy, I will feel that that prayer has been answered, if my weak and simple words may but turn your loyal and devoted hearts more and more to those living monuments. We will love not Caesar less, but Christ more. Listen once more to the voice of our hero: "We must think of the living and of those who are to come after us and see that by God's blessing we transmit to them the freedom we have ourselves inherited."

Now, we are true daughters of our illustrious sires, then when we carry out their ideals, we will be partners with them in their honor and their glory; now, we are grieving for our "lost cause," then we will rejoice that that cause is not lost, but regained, when we, inspired by the lives and examples of our idolized heroes, are perpetuating their memories by teaching the living to emulate the dead in loving service to God and man. This was in accordance with Mrs. Jackson's ideas of life, as an instance of her great unselfishness and showing that "A mother is a mother still, the holiest thing alive," and that she thought of the living, not only in life, but even in her dying moments, her last words were, "When we go to Lexington [for her burial], be sure that the children are in safe hands."

O rare forgetfulness of self! Let us heed her parting admonition, and see that the coming generation is in safe hands.

CHAPTER XIV.

JACKSON'S MOUNTS.

The News Leader asks for our memories of the horses used by Thomas J. (Stonewall) Jackson in his campaigns during the War between the States.

Of the three or four horses owned by the general, by far the most constant in use, from the beginning to the end, was the sorrel horse, not mare, known as "The Little Sorrel," as distinguished from a larger sorrel owned by the general.

The Little Sorrel was selected by Major John Harmon, Jackson's quartermaster, from a carload of horses at Harper's Ferry, a day or two after the general arrived to take command.

The horse was "purchased," not captured or seized, but bought with the general's money.

He was of medium size, compact and easily kept, active, with a long pace that carried the general more rapidly than the staff and couriers could follow him. Of this most useful horse, Mrs. Jackson writes, in her memoirs of her husband:

"Among the stores captured at Harper's Ferry, not the least valuable was a train of cars on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, bound for Washington, loaded with horses for the government. This was a lawful prize, and was at once turned over to the Confederate army, except two which Jackson purchased; and, hoping that hostilities would soon blow over, he selected the smaller one which he called Fancy, as a present for his wife, thinking his size and gait were admirably suited for the use of a lady. His name of Fancy seemed rather a misnomer, for he was anything but a fancy-looking animal; but he was well-formed, compactly built, round and fat (never 'raw-boned, gaunt and grim,' as he has often been described), and his powers of endurance were perfectly wonderful. Indeed, he seemed absolutely indefatigable. His eyes were his chief beauty, being most intelligent and expressive, and as soft as a gazelle's. He had a peculiar habit of lying down

like a dog when the command halted for rest. His master made a pet of him, and often fed him apples from his own hand. General Jackson had several other horses, one or two being superb creatures, which had been presented to him, but he preferred the Little Sorrel to them all, finding his gait, as he expressed it, 'as easy as the rocking of a cradle.' He rode him in nearly every battle in which he was engaged. After being lost for a time, upon the fall of his master at Chancellorsville, he was found by a Confederate soldier and kindly sent by Governor Letcher to the family of General Jackson in North Carolina, and lived many years in Lincoln county on the farm of the Rev. Dr. Morrison, father-in-law of the general, and with whom his family made their home. Here he was treated to the greenest of pastures and the best of care, and did excellent service as a family horse, both in harness and under the saddle, and for a long time was the riding horse of the venerable minister to his country churches.

"One of the young Morrisons used to say that Old Fancy (as he was called on the farm) 'had more sense, and was the greatest old rascal he ever saw.' He could make as good use of his mouth in lifting latches and letting down bars as a man could of his hands, and it was a frequent habit of his to let himself out of his stable and then go deliberately to the doors of all the other horses and mules, liberate each one and then march off with them all behind him, like a soldier leading his command, to the green fields of grain around the farm, a fence proving no obstacle to him, for he could, with his mouth, lift off the rails one by one until the fence was low enough to jump over; so that he was continually getting into mischief. But he was such a pet that he was allowed to do anything; and was often taken to country fairs, where he was an object of as much interest as one of the old heroes of the war. His hardiness was shown by his great longevity, for he was over thirty years of age when he died, in 1886, at the Soldiers' Home in Richmond, Va.; and such was still the enthusiasm for the old warhorse that his body was sent to a taxidermist to be mounted. It now stands in a glass case in the library, where the veterans, as they look upon it, can imagine that they see again their beloved commander as they have seen him so often on the field of battle."

A larger sorrel horse, the companion of the Little Sorrel, or Fancy, purchased at Harper's Ferry, was seldom used by the general. By General Jackson's direction it was assigned to the chaplain at corps headquarters, the Rev. Dr. Beverley Tucker Lacy, and was used by him in his most faithful service in the camps. This horse spent his last days, I believe, on the farm of the general's friend, Colonel J. T. L. Preston, near Lexington, Va.

Major Henry Kyd Douglas, of Jackson's staff, in an address at the Cooper Union, New York city, after the war, denying the truth of the Barbara Frietchie story, said, "General Jackson, just before our entry into Frederick city, had been seriously injured by a fall from a horse that had been presented to him by some of his admirers. We were obliged to place General Jackson in an ambulance and stop at Bert's Grove, about three miles from Frederick." My impression is that the horse here spoken of was an iron gray, not well broken for the saddle, and that it was returned to the parties who presented it.

The horse called Superior was presented to the general when in the Valley, before the battle of Fredericksburg, by Colonel Mike Harmon and other gentlemen of Staunton and Augusta county. It was a large and very handsome bay, of rich coloring, and fine bearing, but not active nor well-gaited for riding. Superior was much admired by the general, and sometimes used by him in the last winter of his life when his headquarters were at the Corbin place, Moss Neck, Caroline county. This horse was more frequently used by the general's servant, Jim, who had the care of him, and on the march from the Valley led the mounted servants and the headquarters' wagons. Over in Clarke county, on a Sunday afternoon, Jim, on Superior, at the head of a troop of our servants, affected the style of a general and staff, and went off, with hat in his hand, to some church for the colored people. I remember the general himself and the staff coming out of their tents to see the colored contingent go off in great style.

A handsome English saddle and bridle were sent to the general from England by an admirer, Colonel Fremantle, of the Coldstream Guards, during the winter at Moss Neck, the remnants of which are now on the Little Sorrel at the Lee Camp Soldiers' Home.

It is this horse, Superior, which you see in the fine engraving, "Jackson at Winchester," a copy of which is at Lee Camp Hall, Richmond, and it is this handsome bay, Superior, which Mr. Sievers had in mind in his superb heroic model for the monument erected on Monument Avenue, Richmond.

In the midst of the winter at Moss Neck a note came one evening from General Lee asking General Jackson to call to see him at his convenience. The general was riding his large bay, Superior, and spoke of him that day with admiration. The attending aide undertook to lead the general back to camp by a way that would test the handsome Superior. On a young and very active sorrel mare, I led on a bridle path, known to couriers, along the base of the Rappahannock hills. Before long we came to a wide ditch, difficult at any time, but especially so, with its banks covered with snow. With a diagonal I well knew, I had no trouble in reaching the farther bank. When I had gone a few rods I looked back and saw the general dismounted, coaxing the bay across the ugly ditch. When he overtook me, he looked at my active young horse and said, "That's a fine mare of yours, captain!" And I said, "Yes, general, what do you think of your bay now?" I think he saw that I had played a trick on him, for he laughed heartily as he rode away.

APPENDIX

THE DEATH OF STONEWALL JACKSON—ACTION OF THE STONEWALL BRIGADE

I.

Camp Paxton, near Fredericksburg, Va.,
May 16, 1863.

Proceedings of a meeting of officers and men of the "Stonewall Brigade" on the occasion of Lt. Gen'l Jackson's death.

At the hour appointed there was a full attendance of officers and men of the brigade.

The meeting was organized by the selection of Colonel Charles A. Ronald, 4th Virginia, president, and Adjutant Robert W. Hunter, 2d Virginia, as secretary.

On motion of Captain H. K. Douglas, a committee of three, consisting of Colonel Nadenbousch, 2d Virginia, Major Wm. Terry, 4th Virginia, and Adjutant R. W. Hunter, 2d Virginia, were appointed to prepare appropriate resolutions.

The committee retired, and, after consideration, reported through Adjutant Hunter the following:

Whereas it hath pleased Almighty God in the exercise of supreme but unsearchable wisdom to strike down, in the midst of his career of honor and usefulness, our glorious hero, Lt. Gen'l T. J. Jackson, the officers and men of the brigade, which he formerly commanded, who have followed him through the trying scenes of this great struggle, and who by the blessing of Providence, under his guidance, have been enabled to do some good in our country's cause; who loved and cherished him as a friend—honored him as a great and good man, laboring with hand and heart and mind for our present and future welfare, who obeyed, and confided in him, as a leader of consummate skill and unyielding fortitude, and who now mourn his loss, unite in the following tribute of respect to his memory:

Resolved, first, that in the death of Lt. Gen'l Jackson the world has lost one of its best and purest men—our country and the church of God a bright and shining light; the army one of its boldest and most skilful leaders, and this brigade a firm and unwavering friend.

Resolved, second, that General Jackson has closed his noble career by a death worthy of his life and that while we mourn for him, and feel that no other leader can be to us all that he has been, yet we are not cast down or dispirited, but even more determined to do our whole duty, and if need be give our lives for a cause made more sacred by the blood of our martyrs.

Resolved, third, that, in accordance with General Jackson's wish and the desire of this brigade to honor its first great commander, the Secretary of War be requested to order that it be known and designated as the "Stonewall Brigade," and that in thus formally adopting a title which is inseparably connected with his name and fame, we will strive to render ourselves more worthy of it, by emulating his virtues, and like him, devote all our energies to the great work before us of securing to our beloved country the blessings of peace and independence.

Resolved, fourth, that a copy of these proceedings be forwarded to the widow of the deceased and published in the newspapers of the city of Richmond, with the request that they be copied by the papers throughout the State.

The resolutions were passed.

Captain H. K. Douglas addressed the meeting in a feeling manner, among other things stating that it was the general's wish that his old brigade should be known as the "Stonewall Brigade," and moved in this connection that a committee of five be appointed to correspond with the Secretary of War in order to carry out the third resolution of the meeting.

The chair named the following committee: Colonel Funk, 5th Virginia; Lt. Col. Colston, 2d Volunteers; Major Terry, 4th Virginia; Captain Frazier, 27th Virginia; Captain Bedinger, 33d Virginia.

Major Terry submitted the following resolutions:

Resolved, first, that it is the desire of this brigade to erect over the grave of Lt. Gen'l Jackson a suitable monument.

Resolved, second, that a committee of five be appointed, one from each regiment, to carry into effect the above resolution, and that for this purpose the committee be clothed with full power to appoint a treasurer and sub-committee in each regiment, to collect funds, adopt designs and inscriptions.

The resolutions passed unanimously, and the chair appointed the following committee: Colonel I. Q. A. Nadenbousch, 2d Virginia; Captain Strickler, 4th Virginia; Colonel Williams, 5th Virginia; Colonel Shriver, 27th Virginia and Lt. Colonel Spengler, 33d Virginia.

On motion the meeting adjourned.

CHAS. A. RONALD, President.

ROBT. W. HUNTER, Secretary.

II.

Letter of

MAJOR HENRY A. WISE, CADET CORPS V. M. I.

I do not know how to thank you sufficiently for your address delivered Friday night at McCoy Hall, Baltimore. I was a cadet at the institute when the war began. I recited daily to "Major Jackson" in his section room, and was under him frequently at drill on the parade ground. I have often heard Colonel Preston, his brother-in-law, General Smith, Colonel Massie, General Shipp and many others talk about Jackson, and I believe I have a good idea of the kind of man he was.

To me, he was my beau ideal of honorable, upright, efficient, Christian manhood. He was not an aristocrat nor a plebeian, but a man. He treated every one, high or low, with kindness, courtesy and justice. He won a name and fame which will endure.

It goes without saying that Jackson was a great soldier, a man of high intellectual qualities, a man of the highest character, but after all, as you so well said in your address, his attractive-

ness as a Christian gentleman appeals to us more, probably, than his other high qualities.

General O. O. Howard, "Battles and Leaders," page 202, says:

"Stonewall Jackson was victorious. Even his enemies praise him. In bold planning, in energy of execution, in indefatigable activity and moral ascendancy, Jackson stood head and shoulders above his *confreres*, and after his death General Lee could not replace him."

III.

PAPER ADOPTED

BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,
IN SESSION AT COLUMBIA, S. C., MAY, 1863

The Rev. Dr. Palmer, from the committee appointed to report a minute upon the death of General T. J. Jackson, presented the following, which was unanimously adopted by the members rising in silence in their places:

The committee appointed to draft a minute upon the death of General Thomas J. Jackson respectfully submit the following:

The despatches, announcing the severe illness of this beloved servant of God, and invoking the prayers of this Assembly on his behalf, had scarcely aroused our alarm before the sad intelligence of his death fell, with its crushing weight, upon our hearts, and turned these prayers for him into weeping supplications for ourselves and for our bereaved country. Seldom in history has one been able, in so short a time, to write his name so deeply upon the hearts of his countrymen, and to raise the admiration of the world at large. Uniting the most beautiful simplicity with the most intense earnestness of character, with a religious consecration to duty as the regulative principle of his life, he was a true man in all the relations in which he moved. The additional endowment of a military genius, quick to perceive and to improve the advantage and its opportunity, made him what he was, the true soldier and the consummate general. It were idle to compress within this record his brilliant military career, which

forms so large a part of this young nation's history. The rapidity of his movements, imparting to him a seeming ubiquity, the promptness and daring and uniform success of his achievements, rendered his name a terror to our foes, and a tower of strength to ourselves. It is not invidious to say that, whilst other generals of the army, superior to him in rank, command equally with himself the confidence of our people, he was the most deeply of them all enshrined in their affections. It will be the office of history to assign the position he will occupy upon her impartial page; and we doubt not that the verdict of posterity will confirm the judgment of his contemporaries, in pronouncing that the life of a hero has been crowned with the death of a martyr.

But General Jackson has stronger claims upon the affectionate and tearful remembrance of this General Assembly than those founded upon his merits as a patriot and a warrior. He was a warm and zealous Christian, a man that feared God, and walked carefully before Him; who, being found blameless, used the office of a deacon in the house of God, filling up the portrait drawn by the apostle's hand: "Grave, not double tongued, and holding the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience." His religion was woven into the whole texture of his character and life, the constructive element which made him the man he was. It has been tersely and truthfully, and therefore beautifully, said of him, that in the army he was the expression of his country's confidence in God and in himself. Even those who withheld from God the homage of their own obedience and love, took refuge in the thought that their great military leader drew his strength from the God of heaven, and, like the Hebrew Moses, daily communed with Him upon the mount; and the Church of Christ turned their eyes to him with a loving joy, as the embodied and concrete representative, the living exposition of those precious truths which it is her mission to testify to a dying world. In the army his religious influence diffused itself like the atmosphere around him; and by that strange magnetic power over other minds which is given to all who are born to command, none were drawn into his presence who did not bow before the supremacy of that piety so silently yet conspicuously illustrated in the carriage of this Christian general.

The evidence is cumulative before this Assembly of his zeal to overtake the religious wants of his soldiery, and of the yearnings of his soul that this venerable court should, during its present session, concert large plans for the evangelization of the army, and of the country at large. Therefore it is, that this Assembly, at the moment of its dissolution, as its last solemn act, would place upon its records this memorial to his praise, and bedew it with their parting tears. We shall not attempt here the interpretation of the mysterious providence which has taken away from the country, at such a juncture, so strong an arm. It is enough that He has done it who does all things well; we will "be still and know that He is God." But in the depth of our own sadness, we would speak a word of cheer to our bereaved countrymen; that in the disappointment of many of our most reasonable calculations, no less than in unexpectedly blessing us when all seemed dark and forbidding, God seems to us only the more to have charged Himself with the care and protection of this struggling Republic; and in this new chastening we recognize the token of Him whose way it is to humble those whom it is His purpose to exalt and to bless.

With the immediate family and kindred of our departed brother, we desire to mingle our grief, as they pay the tribute of their sorrow over his grave; and the Assembly conveys through this minute its tenderest sympathy to those whose hearts are bleeding under what is to them a most close and personal bereavement, praying the God of all consolation to grant unto them joy for mourning, beauty for ashes, and the garments of praise for the spirit of heaviness.

Respectfully submitted,

B. M. PALMER, Chairman.

IV.

REVIEW OF BATTINE'S "CRISIS OF THE
CONFEDERACY"

The Crisis of the Confederacy. A History of Gettysburg and the Wilderness. By Cecil Battine, Captain 15th, the King's Hussars. Reviewed by James Power Smith.

It is not surprising that the campaigns and battles of the four years' war between the American States, and the careers of the great leaders on the two sides, should attract the attention and be the study of military students and critics in other lands. But it is surprising that foreign students and war critics should give such thorough and careful study to these leaders, and their campaigns, as to produce books that are most complete in their comprehension of all the elements of history, and most accurate in detail. Colonel Henderson's "Stonewall Jackson and the American Civil War," as a narrative of Jackson's campaigns, and a study of the strategy of that military genius, is the most complete and detailed volume written. No American writer has produced so full and thorough a discussion and history of Jackson and his campaigns as this accomplished English officer.

The same may be said of Captain Battine's book. No book to this time has given so comprehensive and so accurate a narrative of the Gettysburg campaign, from the standpoint of the impartial historian. Of Henderson it may be said that he had become convinced of the justice of the cause of the Southern Confederacy, and was an enthusiastic admirer of Stonewall Jackson and of the Southern soldiery which followed Jackson. But Captain Battine announces no judgment of the righteousness of the contest on either side. There is a well-guarded reserve as to his convictions and his sympathies. With an impartiality that is, we believe, unbroken, he studies with great fairness the whole campaign, from the standpoint of a military student and critic. With the politics of the great conflict, he has nothing to do, and of neither side is he a partisan. It is one of the great values of this book that it is the work of an author who is neither Northern

nor Southern, who has not committed himself to a judgment on the great question at issue, and who is here engaged in a just and careful study of the critical period of the war, in the interest of military science.

The book is an octavo volume of over four hundred pages, somewhat compactly printed, and is therefore quite a full and substantial volume. Its maps are well prepared, and are, on the whole, quite accurate reproductions of the country as it was in the time of war. It is not at all a complete history of the downfall of the military power of the Southern States, but it aims to be "a concise account of the most critical phase of this great Civil War." There is no attempt to embrace the elements of weakness that existed in finance, in blockaded ports, in lack of manufactures, in imperfect transportation, nor is there any outline of the campaigns in the West, and the seizure of the Mississippi River.

But with Gettysburg in view, the author gives a brief account of the campaigns in Virginia from the beginning. And this is done to bring the reader to the breaking of the war at Gettysburg, with an intelligent comprehension of the conditions which there existed, the generals who commanded, and the battalions which were now filled with veteran soldiers who had passed through long marches and well-fought battles. Chancellorsville is especially studied as the field from which the invasion of Pennsylvania has seemed to many the logical and necessary conclusion. Then the cavalry engagement at Brandy Station is quite fully narrated, and the capture of Winchester by Ewell, and the defeat of Milroy. With most admirable care, Captain Battine has studied many sources of information, and knows well the books both North and South. He is familiar with the topography of Northern Virginia, and follows the movement of Stuart in Fauquier and Prince William with intelligence, and gives as complete an account of his daring but mistaken ride to the east of Hooker into Pennsylvania as exists in print today.

The great and critical contest at Gettysburg is treated not as a three days' battle, but correctly as three battles on three successive days. There was to both sides the unexpected encounter

on Willoughby's Run, three miles west of the town, with its Confederate success. There was the second battle, when in the afternoon of the second day, Longstreet at last struck the extreme left flank of the Federal Army, and defeated Sickles at the Peach Orchard. And there was the third battle, when on the afternoon of the third day, Pickett's column struck the left center of the enemy's line on the ridge and, unsupported, fell back a broken, exhausted wave from the overwhelming numbers holding a strong position. No important part of the struggle is omitted. The condition of the armies on both sides is carefully narrated, the arrivals on the field, the delays, the confusions, the mistakes are told candidly. Many books have been written from many viewpoints, and no doubt sincere attempts to do justice to all have been made. But nowhere, we believe, is there so just and impartial a narrative of the struggle around the little Pennsylvania town, on which hung so critically the issues of the whole war and the turning point of American history.

The author has not failed to see that from the Southern side the reasons for failure at Gettysburg are to be found in a number of facts. There was the absence of Stuart and his cavalry, for which he accounts by the weakness of indefinite instructions from the commanding general; the lack of a prompt initiative on the part of Ewell on the evening of the first day; the unsoldierly recalcitration of Longstreet, and his lack of sympathy with the wishes of Lee; and yet, still more pervading and controlling, the loss of Stonewall Jackson. "With the fatal shot which struck down Stonewall Jackson began the series of disastrous events leading to the conquest of the Confederacy."

The author of this book is an educated professional soldier, acquainted with the principles of military science as taught in the English schools and as exemplified in all modern warfare. From this standpoint his criticisms are made, and will be regarded, we are confident, with much respect. In his view the Richmond government erred in not concentrating all possible force in Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, drawing everything possible from the South and West for the strongest aggressive movement. At the sacrifice of some minor interests, the whole strength should have

been thrown into a decisive campaign. Again and again, Captain Battine urges that it was a great mistake in tactics that the cavalry was not kept in operation with the infantry on the field, and pushed in massed columns upon every weakened point. He thinks that on both sides in the American war there was a need of a much better staff organization of professionally educated officers, with definite assignments to duty. After crossing the Potomac, the author thinks, instead of going so far afield into Pennsylvania, Lee should have promptly turned east toward Frederick and fought the battle near to his communications, and nearer to the enemy's base at Washington. Of Gettysburg, he speaks as distinctly "the soldiers battle," the Southern soldiers fighting with a courage and sacrifice unparalleled. Their leaders of highest rank did not rise to the occasion and failed in harmony and concert of action.

We have found it a matter of constant regret that the able and accomplished author of this valuable book has not given in foot-notes references to the authorities on which his narrative is based. He has made an extensive research through the literature of the war. It would have added greatly to the permanent historical value of the book, if he had given the references to reports and personal narratives, with which he evidently has most intelligent acquaintance. We have no reason to question his statistical tables, and we believe that they conform in the main with the reports and statements of Generals Hooker, Meade and Humphries, and of the Confederate authorities. But it would have been eminently satisfactory if these sources of information had been given.

Captain Battine has done faithful and able work in his book, and it must remain a permanent contribution to the history of the crisis of the Confederacy, the breaking of the wave of the Southern soldiers' victory, when it had reached the very crest of the ridge against which it rose.

V.

LETTER OF LT. COL. R. P. CARSON, 37th Va. Infantry,
C. S. A.

Abingdon, Va., September 13, 1911.

Dr. James P. Smith,
Richmond, Va.

Dear Sir:

Permit me to offer you my sincere thanks for your splendid article on the "Character and Career of Stonewall Jackson," published in the Times-Dispatch of the 12th inst. It is the truest and most just account of that great man I have yet seen. There has been so much *stuff* written in regard to his slight peculiarities, and misrepresentations of his actions that I have long wished some one who knew him would correct them. He came to the V. M. I. in 1851, the same year I matriculated, and I saw him and knew him every day for three years, until 1854, when I graduated. I loved him as a professor and a man; his little idiosyncrasies in the section room were perfectly harmless and characteristic. And when I came to serve under him, as Lt. Col. of the 37th Virginia Regiment, at first I felt a little fearful he might by some error lead us into trouble. I soon learned that he was a military genius in truth. I first came directly under his command at Winchester, December, 1861, having been transferred from West Virginia with Loring's troops—was with him through the Valley Campaign which closed after the Port Republic engagement. The most truthful relation of that campaign I have ever read is by Lt. Col. Henderson, an Englishman: it is true in all particulars.

I am so pleased that you had the nerve to criticise Mary Johnston's mistakes—that book with its miserable picture of General Jackson in front, representing him as an *Esquimo*, should not be handed down to our children to look at. It disgusted me at first sight.

Again thanking you for your splendid article, I am

Yours truly, R. P. CARSON.
Late Lt. Col. 37th Virginia Regiment.

HISTORY OF THE CAMPAIGN

OF

Gen. T. J. (Stonewall) Jackson

IN THE

Shenandoah Valley of Virginia

From November 4, 1861, to June 17, 1862

BY

WILLIAM ALLAN

Formerly Lieutenant-Colonel and Chief Ordnance Officer,
Second Corps, A. N. V.

WITH

Full Maps of the Region and of the Battle-Fields

BY

JED. HOTCHKISS

Formerly Captain and Topographical Engineer,
Second Corps, A. N. V.

WILLIAM ALLAN.

William Allan was born at Winchester, Va., on November 12, 1837. He was a student in the University of Virginia in 1861, and promptly joined the Confederate army. His skill in mathematics naturally led to his entering the ordnance department; he was attached to Jackson's staff and at length rose to be chief ordnance officer of the Second Corps with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He served through Jackson's Valley Campaign, and at the Second Manassas, Sharpsburg and Fredericksburg. After the war he was for a time professor of mathematics in Washington College, now Washington and Lee University, while Robert E. Lee was president. In 1873 Colonel Allan became principal of the McDonough Institute in Maryland, where he remained until his death in 1889. He married, in 1874, Elizabeth Randolph Preston, who still survives and by whose kind permission his work on the Valley Campaign is here reprinted.

Besides the *History of the Campaign of Gen. T. J. Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley*, which follows, Colonel Allan was the author of the *Battle of Chancellorsville*, *The Army of Northern Virginia in 1862*, and numerous articles in the Southern Historical Society Papers.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
CHAPTER I	
Romney	113
CHAPTER II	
Kernstown	140
CHAPTER III	
McDowell	176
CHAPTER IV	
Winchester	196
CHAPTER V	
Cross Keys and Port Republic.....	248



JACKSON'S VALLEY CAMPAIGN

CHAPTER I.

ROMNEY.

The long struggle between the two great sections of the United States came to an issue of arms in the spring of 1861. For years the course of events had tended to this result. The North, great and growing, filled with the most advanced ideas as to popular government, human rights, universal equality and fraternity, and tending, because of the immense expansion of commerce and manufactures, to a centralized government, chafed and fretted against the barriers interposed by a strict construction of the Constitution to an extension of its civilization over the entire country. The foundations on which the Union had been reared seemed narrow and antiquated to a people whose growth had been unprecedented, and who, by an immense infusion of un-English immigration, had lost much of their reverence for the traditions and principles of the Fathers of the Republic. The South, more conservative in principle and practice; less changed by immigration; believing slavery the best relation for the negro, and a necessary condition of permanence in a purely democratic state; saw no safety for its institutions, except in strict adherence to constitutional guarantees, and watched with the utmost jealousy any encroachments attempted upon the defences which the Constitution had thrown around the weaker party. When the long political struggle culminated in the election of Mr. Lincoln to the presidency in 1860, some of the southern States thought it time to dissolve the Union, and seek safety in a separate government from the anti-slavery deluge which seemed to them about to spread over the land. The border slave States held back for a time, and Virginia especially, which had contributed so largely to the formation of the Union originally, exerted all her influence to bring

about a peace between the conflicting sections, but in vain. Meantime, Mr. Lincoln entered upon office March 4, 1861. In a few weeks his conciliatory sentiments yielded to the pressure of the public opinion of his political associates in the North. Early in April a decided stand was taken against further concession to the seceding States. It was determined to reinforce Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbor. On the 13th of April the fort was attacked by the Confederates and taken. On April 15, President Lincoln issued his call for seventy-five thousand troops to suppress "insurrectionary combinations." On April 17, Governor Letcher, of Virginia, refused to obey the President's call for troops, and on the same day the Virginia convention, all its efforts for peace having failed, and the issue being now war on the one side or the other, repealed the ordinance by which the State had originally adopted the Federal constitution, and seceded from the Union.

The authorities of Virginia at once took steps to organize such military force as she possessed. Volunteers were called for, and such as were not ready for immediate service were ordered to Richmond, where a camp of instruction was established. In a few days it was determined to bring down the senior cadets from the Virginia Military Institute, at Lexington, to be used in drilling the recruits. On Sunday morning, April 21, the order reached Lexington, Virginia, requiring those cadets to report at Richmond, under command of Maj. T. J. Jackson, then Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy in the Virginia Military Institute.

Maj. Jackson was born at Clarksburg, Western Virginia, January, 1824, entered West Point in 1842, graduated in 1846, distinguished himself in the march on the city of Mexico in 1847 as a lieutenant in Magruder's battery, was brevetted captain for gallant and meritorious conduct at Churubusco, August 20, and major at Chapultepec, September 13, 1847. He accompanied his command after the close of the Mexican war to Fort Hamilton, whence he was sent to Fort Meade, near Tampa bay, Florida. While here he was elected, in 1851, to the above-named professorship in the Virginia Military Institute, and resigning from the army he removed to Lexington. Here he resided for the next ten years.

At one o'clock on Sunday, the 21st of April, 1861, the cadets, under Maj. Jackson, took up their line of march for Staunton, *en route* to Richmond. He then left his home for the last time. A little more than two years afterwards all that was mortal of "Stonewall" Jackson was borne, amid the tears and lamentations of his countrymen, to the simple village churchyard of Lexington. Maj. Jackson was first assigned to duty at the camp of instruction, near Richmond, but at the end of a week he was commissioned as colonel by the State of Virginia, and ordered to take command at Harper's Ferry, Virginia. He arrived there on the 29th of April, and held command until superseded by Gen. Joseph E. Johnston,¹ who, upon the adhesion of Virginia to the Confederate States, was sent by the authorities of the latter to take charge of this important post. Col. Jackson was then placed in command of one of the brigades of the army gradually collecting under Gen. Johnston. He was made brigadier-general on July 3, and marched to Manassas on the 18th and 19th, when Gen. Johnston moved to the assistance of Beauregard. At Manassas, July 21, Jackson contributed materially to the victory won by the Confederates, his brigade checking the tide of Federal success, and rendering conspicuous service. It was on this occasion that he received the sobriquet of "Stonewall," from an expression used by Gen. Bee in reference to Jackson's brigade.²

¹Gen. Johnston assumed command on the 23d of May.

²The first battle of Manassas was fought on Sunday, July 21, 1861, between the Federal army, under Gen. Irwin McDowell, and the Confederate forces, under Gens. J. E. Johnston and Beauregard. The latter commanded the army which had gradually gathered at Manassas to resist the Federal advance from Washington, while Gen. Johnston, with the "Army of the Shenandoah," confronted Gen. Patterson, who was advancing from the Potomac, at Williamsport, towards Winchester, in the "Valley of Virginia." A forward movement by McDowell being imminent, Gen. Johnston was ordered to unite "if practicable" with Beauregard to resist it. Slipping away from Patterson's front on the 18th of July, he arrived with a part of his command, including Jackson's brigade, at Manassas on the 20th, and, after consultation with Beauregard, determined to attack McDowell the next day, in order to fight him before Patterson could join him. McDowell, however, who was moving without reference to Patterson, had determined upon an advance on the same day. Johnston's plan was to throw forward his right across Bull Run and advance directly upon Centreville, the heart of the Federal position. For this purpose the mass of the Confederates were placed in the vicinity of the lower fords of Bull Run, near the

On the 7th of October he was made major-general, in recognition of his services at the battle of Manassas, and soon after was assigned, under Gen. Johnston, to the command of the Valley district, with headquarters at Winchester, Virginia. (Map No. I.) On November 4 he left Manassas for the latter place. He held this command, in a considerable degree an independent one, until the middle of the following June. This period in his career is in many respects the most interesting. It embraces the difficulties and struggles through which he rose to fame, and covers that wonderful campaign in the Valley of Virginia which filled the South with unbounded admiration of his genius, and has placed his name, in the estimation of the world, high on the roll of captains. It is a sketch of Jackson's career during this period that we propose now to give.

The birthplace and early home of Gen. Jackson was Clarks-

direct road from Manassas to Centreville, while the upper fords, opposite the Confederate left, were guarded by small bodies. McDowell, on the other hand, determined, by a wide circuit, to cross the stream entirely beyond the Confederate left and thus turn and overwhelm that flank. A miscarriage of orders delayed the Confederates until McDowell's march to their left was discovered, when new dispositions became necessary. On the Confederate left Evans, reinforced by Bee and Bartow, and still later by Hampton, threw his command in the path of the Federal army (which, having crossed Bull Run unopposed at Sudley's ford, was pouring down on the flank), and stubbornly contested the ground until forced to retreat before the mass of McDowell's troops. As the Confederates were being borne back Jackson's brigade reached the field, and, promptly forming, checked the Federal advance and gave the broken commands time to rally. Then succeeded an hour or two of severe fighting. A bold effort on the part of the Confederates was made to drive back the Federals and regain the lost ground. They succeeded in sweeping back McDowell's lines and capturing a number of guns, but the Federals soon made a countercharge and retook the position and artillery. Again, mustering all his strength, Beauregard, who commanded in person on this part of the field, hurled it against the Federal lines. Fresh troops were arriving, which he sent against the Federal right flank. Jackson firmly held the centre of the advance. The Federal lines were again broken, the guns again captured. The arrival of Kirby Smith's and of Early's troops enabled Beauregard to press his advantage, to drive back McDowell's right flank, and to throw it into confusion. The defeat quickly changed into a rout, and this rout into one of the most remarkable panics on record. It was in the last successful effort of the Confederates that Bee and Bartow were slain, and it was just before the former fell that, to animate his thinned and wavering lines, he pointed to Jackson's brigade, and said, "See, there is Jackson standing like a stone wall; let us determine to die here and we will conquer." Such was the origin of the sobriquet of "Stonewall." It is now immortal.

burg, in Western Virginia, and from the opening of the war he had burned with a desire to be ordered to service in that region. He had frequently expressed his wish to aid in expelling the Federal troops from the home of his childhood, and when assigned to the Valley district his first thoughts were turned towards the execution of such a design.

The campaign of the summer and fall in Western Virginia had not been favorable to the South. Gen. Robert S. Garnett, who had commanded the first considerable force in that region, had been outmanœuvred by Gen. McClellan, compelled to retreat from his position at Leedsville and Rich mountain with loss, and when overtaken at Carrick's ford, on Cheat river, July 13, had been defeated and killed. This gave the Federals control of the greater part of the State of Virginia, west of the Alleghanies and north of the Great Kanawha river. In the valley of this river an effort was made a month later, by Gen. Floyd, with a Confederate brigade, to wrest a portion of this territory from them, but because of his small force, and the want of co-operation on the part of Gen. Wise (commanding a part of the Confederate troops in that region), he failed to effect any results of permanent value.

Gen. Lee, who had been sent to take command after the death of Garnett,³ with a considerable reinforcement, either through the difficulties of the country, or the inexperience of his subordinates, or both, failed to regain the advantages lost by Garnett, and was reduced to merely preventing any further encroachments of the enemy. He directed an advance upon the Federal positions on Cheat mountain and at Elkwater on September 12, but it miscarried because the columns under Col. Rust failed to attack. He then drew off a large part of Loring's force to unite with Floyd and Wise in opposing Rosecrans's movement up the Kanawha valley, but the Federal commander withdrew, and active operations ceased. About the 1st of November Gen. Lee

³ Gen. Lee was sent to Western Virginia immediately after the first battle of Manassas, which occurred on July 21. (Taylor's "Four Years with General Lee," p. 16.) At that time Gen. Loring commanded the forces lately under Garnett, and Gens. Floyd and Wise each had a brigade in the Kanawha valley. The three were independent of each other.

was ordered elsewhere, and the approach of winter and the inaccessible character of the country rendered further operations almost impossible.

When, therefore, Gen. Jackson was assigned to the command of the Valley of Virginia, the enemy had possession of all the State north of the Great Kanawha and west of the Alleghanies, and had pushed their outposts into that mountain region itself, and, in some cases, eastward of the main range. Thus Gen. Kelly, under direction of Gen. Rosecrans who commanded all the Federal forces in Western Virginia, had captured Romney, the county-seat of Hampshire, forty miles west of Winchester, and now occupied it with a force of five thousand (5,000) men. This movement gave the Federals control of the fertile valley of the South Branch of the Potomac. Another force occupied Bath, the county-seat of Morgan, almost due north of Winchester, while the north bank of the Potomac was everywhere guarded by Union troops. (Maps Nos. I and II.)

The Baltimore and Ohio railroad was open, and available for the supply of the Union troops from Baltimore to Harper's Ferry, and again from a point opposite Hancock westward. The section of about forty miles, from Harper's Ferry to Hancock, lying for the most part some distance within the Virginia border, had been interrupted and rendered useless by the Confederates, but this gap was supplied by the Chesapeake and Ohio canal, which was open all the way from Cumberland, Maryland, to Georgetown, in the District of Columbia.

Jackson recommended a bold plan of operations to dispossess the enemy and recover the territory that had been lost. He had seen how his predecessors had been hampered in trying to operate from Staunton westward, by the difficult and inaccessible nature of the country. On that route a wide belt of mountains, destitute of supplies and for the most part penetrated by nothing but indifferent wagon roads, intervened between the scene of operations and the Confederate base of supplies. This had proved a most serious hindrance. Jackson proposed now to move along the Baltimore and Ohio railroad and the turnpikes parallel to it, and thus enter Western Virginia from the northeast. In this way he

could turn the left flank of the enemy's forces, place himself on their communications, and force them to evacuate, or fight under circumstances of his own selection. This mode of approach, it was true, was far more exposed to the enemy, but it was easier; it lay through a much more populous and cultivated region; it would afford, to some extent, the use of a railroad for supplies; and it would soon place him in the midst of some of the most fertile parts of West Virginia. To carry out this plan he asked that his old brigade, which had been left at Manassas, and all the forces operating along the line of the Alleghanies, southwest of Winchester, should be concentrated under his command. This would have given him fifteen or sixteen thousand (15,000 or 16,000) men, the least force with which he thought it possible to undertake so considerable an enterprise.

The Confederate authorities deemed it impossible to comply fully with his wishes. His own brigade was promptly sent to him, and one of the brigades of Loring's troops reached him early in December.⁴ Subsequently two more brigades, under Gen. Loring himself, were added, but all these troops only increased the small force of two or three thousand State militia, which had been assembled in the district itself, to about eleven thousand (11,000) men.⁵ The greater part of Gen. Loring's force did not arrive until Christmas, thus preventing any important movements during November and December.

But meantime Gen. Jackson was not idle. When he entered upon his new command there were but three fragmentary brigades of State militia and a few detached companies of cavalry in

⁴ Gen. Loring, after the withdrawal of Gen. Lee, had command of all the troops west of Staunton, except those under Floyd, in the Kanawha valley. Gen. Wise had been ordered to duty elsewhere about the 1st of October. When Loring was ordered to Winchester to join Jackson, Gen. Edward Johnson was left with a brigade and some artillery and cavalry at Camp Alleghany, where the Saunton and Parkersburg turnpike crosses the Alleghany mountains.

⁵ Gen. J. E. Johnston says (*Johnston's Narrative*, pp. 83, 84) the "effective total" of troops in the Valley district at the end of November was 3700. Add nine per cent. for officers, and Jackson's force at that time (consisting of the militia and the "Stonewall" brigade) may be placed at about 4,000. At the end of December the "effective total" under Jackson, from the returns, was 10,241, or, adding officers, about 11,200.

the Valley district. These troops were poorly armed, and the militia was almost entirely without discipline or experience. In order to increase this force he first caused the militia which had not yet been summoned, or which had been released, to be called out, and in a short time the brigades under Brig.-Gens. Carson, Meem, and Boggs were increased in the aggregate to about three thousand (3,000) men. He consolidated the cavalry companies into a regiment, under the command of Lieut.-Col. Ashby. Prompt measures were taken to equip and discipline these troops. About the middle of November, the first brigade—his own—was sent up from Manassas, and by the 1st of December he had at hand some four thousand (4,000) troops, and knew that a part of Loring's command was *en route* to join him.⁶

⁶ Jackson's notions of discipline are illustrated by an incident of this time. Immediately after the arrival of the "Stonewall" brigade in the Valley, a stringent order was issued which prevented officers of even the highest grades from passing the pickets around the camps except upon passes from headquarters, and it was required that these passes should specify whether the officer was on public or private business. This order led to the following protest and reply:

"CAMP NEAR WINCHESTER, VIRGINIA,
"November 16, 1861.

"MAJOR:—The undersigned, having read General Orders No. 8, transmitted from the headquarters of the Army of the Valley, so far as it includes and relates to officers of their rank, respectfully submit: That it is an unwarranted assumption of authority, and involves an improper inquiry into their private matters, of which, according to the official usage and courtesy of the army, the major-general commanding has no right to require information; it implies their abuse of the privileges accorded in every other department of the army to officers of their rank, which there has been nothing in their conduct to justify; it disparages the dignity of the offices which they have the honor to hold, and, in consequence, detracts from that respect of the force under their command which is necessary to maintain their authority and enforce obedience. Therefore they complain of the order, and ask that it may be modified.

"Respectfully submitted."

(Signed by all the regimental commanders of the brigade.)

"MAJ. A. H. JACKSON,
"A. A. Gen'l."

"HEADQUARTERS VALLEY DISTRICT,
"November 17, 1861.

"The major-general commanding desires me to say that the within-combined protest is in violation of the Army Regulations and subversive of military discipline. He claims the right to give his pickets such instructions as in his opinion the interests of the public service require.

"Colonels — — —, on the day that their regiments arrived at their present encampment, either from incompetency to control their

While waiting for the reinforcements that would enable him to strike a blow, he determined to annoy the enemy by preventing any attempt to reconstruct the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, and by doing such damage as was possible to the Chesapeake and Ohio canal, which runs along the north bank of the Potomac. For this purpose the cavalry was actively engaged in scouting the country along that river, and early in December a small force of infantry and a battery were sent down to break Dam No. 5, seven miles above Williamsport, which supplied a long level of the canal with water. This force appeared at Dam No. 5 on the afternoon of December 6, and during the next two days kept up an active skirmish with the Federal troops on the north side of the river. Under cover of this fire the Confederates attempted to break the dam on the night of the 7th, but effected little or no damage. The next evening they retired. Not satisfied with the result, Jackson made another effort a few days later to break Dam No. 5. Taking the cavalry, a part of the militia, and his old brigade ("Stonewall"), he left Winchester on the 16th. Next day, having disposed troops between Falling Waters and Dam No. 5, so as to provide against a flank movement, and having sent forces to make demonstrations at Dam No. 4 and at Williamsport, he collected the main body for an attack on Dam No. 5. Under cover of the infantry and artillery stationed on the hills on the south side of the river, parties were sent to break away this dam at the end nearest the Virginia side. Col. Leonard, with a part of the Thirteenth Massachusetts, the Fifth Connecticut, and a battery, was guarding this part of the Federal line. He kept up a vigorous and annoying fire on the working parties. Not much

commands or from neglect of duty, so permitted their commands to become disorganized and their officers and men to enter Winchester without permission, as to render several arrests of officers necessary.

"If officers desire to have control over their commands, they must remain habitually with them, and industriously attend to their instruction and comfort, and in battle lead them well, and in such a manner as to command their admiration.

"Such officers need not apprehend loss of respect resulting from inserting in a written pass the words 'on duty,' or 'on private business,' should they have occasion to pass the pickets.

"By command of Maj.-Gen. Jackson.

"A. H. JACKSON,

"A. A. Gen'l."

was accomplished by the Confederates until Capt. Holliday,⁷ of the Thirty-third Virginia, and Capt. Robinson, of the Twenty-seventh Virginia, volunteered to go down by night with their companies and cut out the cribs. They made brave efforts to do this, standing waist-deep in the cold water, and under the constant fire of the enemy. A partial breach was effected, and the cribs so loosened that the next freshet made a wide gap in the dam, and rendered useless, for the time, a long stretch in the canal. While this attack was in progress several regiments were sent up from Frederick, Maryland, to reinforce Col. Leonard,⁸ and the short time in which the whole of Bank's command, at the latter place, could reach Williamsport, rendered it inadvisable for Jackson to cross the river. Having done all the damage he could to the canal from the south side, he withdrew on the 21st, and returned to Winchester.

While engaged in this expedition, news had come of the decisive repulse by Gen. Edward Johnson of the attack made by the Federals upon his position at Camp Alleghany. This occurred on the 13th of December.⁹ Gen. Jackson advised that this force be now sent to reinforce him or be moved towards Moorefield, so as to co-operate with him in an advance on Romney.¹⁰

⁷ Afterwards colonel of the Thirty-third Virginia regiment, and subsequently Governor of Virginia.

⁸ The "Record of Events" on Banks's division return for this period says that on the 18th of December the Fifth Connecticut, Twenty-ninth Pennsylvania, and First Maryland regiments, Company F, of the Fourth United States artillery, and two companies of Maryland cavalry were ordered to Williamsport.

⁹ Gen. Edward Johnson, with from 1,200 to 1,500 men and two batteries, occupied Camp Alleghany, which is fifteen miles west of Monterey, on the Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike. He was attacked by Gen. Milroy, with from 1,700 to 1,800 men, on December 13. After a fierce struggle, lasting the greater part of the day, the Federals were repulsed at every point, and retreated to their camp on Cheat mountain. ("Rebellion Record," vol. iii., Doc. 226.)

¹⁰ Jackson's letter, dated December 23, and sent both to Gen. J. E. Johnston and Adj.-Gen. Cooper, is as follows: "I respectfully recommend that such of Brig.-Gen. Loring's forces as are on or near the Alleghany mountains be ordered to march forthwith to Moorefield, in Hardy county, with a view to forming a junction with the troops now at or near this point (Winchester). If it is the design of the government to commence offensive operations against Romney soon, the troops asked for should move to my aid at once. Recent intelligence from Romney gives reason to believe that the force of the enemy in

This was not done, and later in the winter Johnson was forced to fall back to the Shenandoah mountain, to avoid the danger of a flank movement against him from Romney.

Jackson, soon after his return to Winchester, was gratified to meet Gen. Loring, the last two of whose brigades arrived there at Christmas.¹¹

Gen. Loring, who was to retain command of his own troops and to be second to Jackson, had three infantry brigades, under Col. W. B. Taliaferro, Col. Wm. Gilham, and Brig.-Gen. S. R. Anderson respectively, and Marye's and Shumaker's batteries. These troops numbered nearly six thousand (6,000), and increased Jackson's entire force to about eleven thousand (11,000) men.¹²

Jackson had now all the troops that his superiors thought it judicious to spare him. He had been most anxious to make an effort to recover Western Virginia from the Federals, but the force at hand was felt to be inadequate to so large an undertaking. The season, too, was so far advanced that a mountain campaign would be attended with very great difficulties. He, nevertheless, decided to persevere. An immediate movement was determined upon against the forces stationed within the limits of his military district. This district extended over the region bounded on the southeast by the Blue Ridge, on the north and northeast by the Potomac, from Harper's Ferry to its source, and on the north-

Hampshire county is about 10,000, and that reinforcements are continuing to arrive. I regret to say that the occupation of Hampshire county by the enemy is exercising a demoralizing influence upon our people, who are gradually yielding to outward pressure and taking the oath of allegiance to the United States. There are noble spirits in and about Romney who have given up their earthly all, and are now, for our cause and institutions, exiles from their homes. I have endeavored to cheer them, and to deter those who remained behind from taking the oath of allegiance to the enemy, by holding out to them the prospect of a speedy deliverance; but this, I fear, will prove a delusion, unless the asked for forces, or their equivalent, come soon. I fear that the forces that were recently defeated on the Alleghany will be in Romney before Gen. Johnson leaves his position."

¹¹ Loring arrived December 26. The same day the Hon. C. J. Faulkner, but recently released from a northern prison, offered his services to Gen. Jackson, and was appointed aide-de-camp.

¹² Jackson reports his strength on January 10 to Gen. J. E. Johnston as 10,178 infantry and 648 cavalry. He had also 26 pieces of artillery.

west by the crest of the Alleghanies, until it joins the district recently commanded by Gen. Lee, and still held by the troops left there under Gen. Edward Johnson. He would first clear his own district of the foe, do all possible damage to the railroad and canal, and then be guided by circumstances. The preparations were hurried forward, and by the last day of the year all was in readiness to move. (Map No. I.)

The forces and positions of the enemy opposed to Jackson at the beginning of 1862 were as follows: Gen. Banks, commanding the Fifth corps of McClellan's army, with headquarters at Frederick, Maryland, had sixteen thousand (16,000) effective men,¹³ the greater part of whom were in winter quarters near that city, while the remainder guarded the Potomac from Harper's Ferry to Williamsport. Gen. Rosecrans, still holding command of the Department of Western Virginia, had twenty-two thousand (22,000) men scattered over that region,¹⁴ but was concentrating them on the Baltimore and Ohio railroad. He says in his report:¹⁵ "On the 6th of December, satisfied that the condition of the roads over the Alleghanies into Western Virginia, as well as the scarcity of subsistence and horse-feed, would preclude any serious operations of the enemy against us until the opening of spring, I began quietly and secretly to assemble all the spare troops of the department in the neighborhood of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, under cover of about five thousand men I had posted at Romney, with the design of obtaining Gen. McClellan's permission to take nearly all these troops and suddenly seize, fortify, and hold Winchester, whereby I should at once more effectually cover the northeastern and central parts of Western Virginia, and at the same time threatening the left of the enemy's position at Manassas, compel him to lengthen his line of defence in front of the Army of the Potomac, and throw it farther south. That I might more fully lay my views before the general commanding, I requested his permission to visit him at Washington,

¹³ See Federal Congressional Report on 'onduct of the War, 1863, Part II., p. 414, Gen. Banks's testimony.

¹⁴ See same Report, Part I., p. 202, Rosecrans's testimony, given December 31, 1861.

¹⁵ See Report on Conduct of the War, 1865, vol. iii. p. 14, of Rosecrans's campaigns.

whither I proceeded about the 28th of December, and found Gen. McClellan sick of typhoid fever. Before an interview could be had with him on the subject, Stonewall Jackson, with a column of ten thousand men, began an advance in the direction of Cumberland, which threatened such serious consequences that, although ordered to send all my troops to Gen. Lander and to remain personally idle, I was obliged to return to Wheeling for the purpose of seeing this order executed, and supplies and subsistence sent to Gen. Lander."

The same plan of Federal operations was urged by Gen. Lander, who, in his testimony before the Committee on the Conduct of the War, December 27, 1861, says: "I have also stated to gentlemen high in authority that if I could be furnished with three hundred pack-mules and with five thousand men, with liberty in the quartermaster's department to purchase beef cattle, and to employ some of my old mountaineers, so that I could move with celerity—such men now being in this city—I would engage to penetrate the Blue Ridge mountains, and endeavor to take the town of Winchester, and break the northern branch of the Manassas Gap railway. In all these matters I rely fully and completely on the co-operation of Gen. Kelly, now at Romney."¹⁶ A few days after this Gen. Lander was ordered to duty on the line of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, and the troops at Hancock, Cumberland, and Romney, and the intermediate points, were placed under his command.

Such was the condition of affairs, and such the plans of his enemy, when, on January 1, 1862, Jackson set out from Winchester in the direction of Bath. With him were Garnett's (the "Stonewall") brigade,¹⁷ the three brigades under Gen. Loring,¹⁸ a part of the militia, five batteries, and Ashby's regiment of cavalry, the whole numbering some eight or nine thousand (8,000 or 9,000) men. His movement disconcerted all plans for an aggressive campaign against Winchester, and threw his opponents on the

¹⁶ Report on the Conduct of the War, 1863, Part I. p. 160.

¹⁷ Brig.-Gen. Richard B. Garnett had been assigned to the command of Jackson's old brigade.

¹⁸ The troops brought by Loring were known as the "Army of the Northwest."

defensive. By moving against Bath, and dispersing the force there and at Hancock, he hoped to destroy communications between Banks and Kelly, threaten the latter's rear, and force him to evacuate Romney or fight single-handed. The weather during December had been fine, and the roads were in good condition. The morning of New Year's day was bright and pleasant, and the army set forth in fine spirits. But the fine weather was, unfortunately, of short duration. Before the evening of the first day a cold storm arrived from the northwest. This was the beginning of a violent and protracted spell of bad weather, which continued for the next three weeks, and interfered most seriously with the expedition. The second day was cold and stormy, and the wagons being delayed by difficult roads,—by-ways being selected to conceal the movement,—the troops passed the night without anything to eat,¹⁹ and, in many cases, without covering. Next morning, when the wagons had caught up, a short time was allowed for cooking and eating, and the march was renewed. Snow and sleet during the latter part of the day added much to the discomfort of the soldiers, and rendered the roads so slippery that the wagons were again unable to keep up with the troops. The night of January 3 was passed in the midst of the storm, about four miles from Bath. A scouting party of the enemy had been dispersed and partly captured during the afternoon. Next morning, Saturday, January 4, as soon as it was possible, Gen. Jackson made his dispositions to surround the town. A detachment was sent over the mountain to the left, with orders to approach the place from the west. The main body pushed along the road, while a regiment was thrown forward on the right and another on the left of the village. But the troops moved slowly. They were exhausted by the cold and suffering of the preceding night, the ground was covered with ice, and a large part of the day was consumed before the Confederates, headed by Col. Baylor of the general's staff, dashed into the town. The enemy, after skirmishing for some hours, had retired hastily. The village had been held by a part of the Thirty-ninth Illinois regiment, with a

¹⁹ The first night the army camped near Pughtown, the second at Unger's.

squadron of cavalry and a section of artillery. These troops had been reinforced on the morning of the 4th by the Eighty-fourth Pennsylvania regiment from Hancock, and at mid-day the Thirteenth Indiana had arrived at Sir John's Run, on the cars, and had marched towards Bath. But in the presence of a large hostile force, Col. Murray, of the Eighty-fourth Pennsylvania, who was in command, decided not to wait for an attack. Under his orders the Thirteenth Indiana was turned back, and the Eighty-fourth Pennsylvania and the Illinois troops both retreated to Hancock, leaving the stores and camp equipage of the force that had been stationed at Bath to be captured. From Bath two principal roads lead to the Potomac, one in the direction of Hancock, which is about six miles distant, on the Maryland side of the river; the other, farther west, to Sir John's Run, a station on the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, which is only three miles away. A road, still farther to the west, leads to the Great Cacapon river, at the railroad bridge over that stream.

Finding the enemy gone, Jackson ordered an immediate pursuit. With the main body of his command he pushed on towards Hancock, driving the rear of the retreating enemy over the river. Gilham's brigade was sent towards Sir John's Run, but did not succeed in inflicting any damage on the forces retreating by that route. The road led along the narrow and precipitous defile of Sir John's Run, where a few men were easily able to check Gilham's advance until dark, and after nightfall the Federals retreated over the river. Col. Rust, with the Third Arkansas and the Thirty-seventh Virginia regiments, and two guns, was sent to destroy the railroad bridge over the Great Cacapon. The guard made a stout resistance, but the next morning were driven off, and the bridge, railroad station, and telegraph were destroyed.

The main Confederate force bivouacked on the night of the 4th opposite Hancock. Next morning Jackson sent Col. Ashby to demand the surrender of that town, and in the event of a refusal, to give notice that two hours would be allowed for the removal of non-combatants before the Confederate batteries would open upon it. Gen. Lander had just arrived and assumed command at Hancock, and he refused to surrender, and prepared to

resist until reinforcements could reach him. Jackson placed several pieces of artillery in position, and kept up a brisk cannonade during the remainder of the day, which he renewed on the morrow. Meantime, an effort was made to construct a bridge at a point two miles above, with the view of crossing to the Maryland side. But it was found that this work would consume several days, in which time Gen. Lander might be reinforced to such an extent as to render the movement impracticable.²⁰ Hence the Confederate leader, having freed this part of his district from the enemy, after destroying such of the captured stores as he could not carry off, left the vicinity of Hancock on the morning of the 7th and marched in the direction of Romney, the head of his column reaching Unger's Store the same evening.

This march was a trying one. The severity of the weather continued without abatement. The snow and sleet, under the tramp of the soldiers, soon became as smooth as glass, so that marching was painful and difficult, while the road was filled with the falling horses of the wagons and artillery, that were unable to stand on their smooth-shod feet. Numbers of horses were disabled and some killed by this day's march. The intense cold added to the suffering of the troops, and caused the bivouac on the night of the 7th of January, 1862, to be long remembered by many of them. The privations endured began to cause discontent and murmuring, especially among the troops which had recently joined Jackson. It was impossible to continue the march

²⁰ Troops were indeed being hastened to Lander as Jackson foresaw. Gen. Williams (of Banks's corps) left Frederick, Maryland, with his brigade for Hancock at 5 A. M. on the morning of the 6th, and camped at Hagerstown the same night, and the remainder of Banks's forces were ready to march. Williams continued to Hancock, and on the 8th of January assumed command at that point, Gen. Lander having gone to Romney the day before. Rosecrans had also hurried troops to Hancock, and Williams found there when he arrived 'the Eighty-fourth and One Hundred and Tenth Pennsylvania, Thirty-ninth Illinois, four companies of the Thirteenth Massachusetts, two companies of the First Virginia, a company of sharpshooters, a detachment of 261 cavalry, and 8 guns, with 92 men from Best's, Hampton's, Knapp's, and Mathews's batteries.' There were also six companies of the First Maryland regiment of infantry at Milestone Point, five miles below Hancock. To these forces he added his brigade of four regiments. (See "Record of Events" on return of Williams's brigade, assistant adjutant-general's office.)

until the horses had been rough-shod, and Jackson, though reluctant, was obliged to remain some days at Unger's for this purpose.

On the day that the Confederates retired from Hancock, January 7, a portion of the Federal force at Romney made a successful reconnoissance on the Winchester road. Just east of the North river, a branch of the Great Cacapon, runs a high ridge, through which, at a narrow and precipitous gap called Hanging Rock, passes the main road from Winchester to Romney. This point, distant about fifteen miles from the latter place, was held by about seven hundred militia and a section of artillery, under Col. Munroe.²¹ On the night of the 6th, Col. Dunning, of the Fifth Ohio, under orders from Gen. Kelly, set out from Romney with a portion of the Fourth, Fifth, Seventh, and Eighth Ohio, Fourteenth Indiana, and First Virginia regiments, five companies of cavalry, and six pieces of artillery, in all about two thousand (2,000) men.²² They reached the vicinity of Hanging Rock about daylight, and, having captured the Confederate pickets, took the main body by surprise. Col. Munroe's main force was on the bluff to the north of the road. The hill on the south was deemed inaccessible, and so was left comparatively undefended. Munroe's artillery, under Lieut. Cutshaw, commanded the road, and the advance was instructed to burn the bridge over North river upon retiring. Col. Dunning, however, pressed forward so quickly and with such overwhelming force, that he drove the Confederates away from the bridge and seized it before it was materially injured. Having crossed the stream, he deployed his force, and while he sent one regiment over the hill south of the road by an unfrequented path, and another along the road itself, he led

²¹ The force consisted of 650 militia infantry, Capt. Sheets's company of cavalry of 56 men, and 2 pieces of artillery and 30 men under Lieut. Cutshaw. (Jackson's letter to Gen. J. E. Johnston, January 10.)

²² Col. Dunning, in his report, says he had six companies each of the Fourth, Fifth, Seventh, and Eighth Ohio, First Virginia, and Fourteenth Indiana infantry; Daum's battery and one section of Baker's, three companies of the First Virginia cavalry, and the Ringgold and Washington cavalry, in all "not over 2,000 men." He and Gen. Kelly report the movement as made on the night of the 7th, though all other authorities place it on the night of the 6th. (See also Doc. 8, vol. iv., "Rebellion Record.")

another to attack Munroe's force on the north hill. The Confederates were soon overpowered, and, seeing themselves flanked, fled, to escape capture.²³ The two guns fell into the enemy's hands, with a part of the baggage of the troops, and seven prisoners.²⁴ The Federal troops set fire to the private houses, mills, etc., in the vicinity, and then returned to Romney, burning many houses and killing much cattle on the way. Of this conduct a northern correspondent, writing from Romney at the time, says: "The burning of dwellings along the road was a piece of vandalism which should be punished with the death, not only of the men who did it, but of the officers who countenanced and encouraged it."²⁵

Jackson got his troops all up and into camp at Unger's on Wednesday, the 8th. Here, while he rested, the teams were prepared for better service on the ice. He was not ready to move

²³ Col. (then Lieut.) Cutshaw says, in a letter to the author: "On the 7th of January, 1862, a force from Romney surprised our camp at daylight, their advance coming in with part of our pickets. Instead of attempting a passage of the gap the enemy hurried immediately to the more accessible ridge on our right, and were there as soon as our militia, and with a volley scattered them." Cutshaw's guns were left without support, the gunners shot down or put to flight, and the pieces captured.

²⁴ Jackson's report of this affair to Gen. J. E. Johnston, dated Unger's Store, January 11, 1862, says: "Though on the 4th instant Bath and all that part of Morgan county east of the Big Capon river was recovered from the enemy, . . . yet on the 7th the enemy surprised our militia at Hanging Rock pass, distant fifteen miles from Romney, drove back our troops from their fortifications, burnt their huts, captured two pieces of artillery (one a four-pounder rifle, the other a four-pounder smooth-bore) . . . As soon as they had accomplished this and burnt the buildings of Col. Charles Blue, near by, and killed his livestock, leaving it on the ground, they returned to Romney."

Col. Dunning, in his report, says: "Seven prisoners were taken and seven dead were found."

²⁵ Jackson says in his official report: "I do not feel at liberty to close this report without alluding to the conduct of the reprobate Federal commanders, who, in Hampshire county, have not only burned valuable mill-property, but also many private houses. Their track from Romney to Hanging Rock, a distance of fifteen miles, was one of desolation. The number of dead animals lying along the roadside, where they had been shot by the enemy, exemplified the spirit of that part of the northern army." (Dabney's Life, p. 271.)

Col. Dunning says in his report that he ordered the mill and hotel (Col. Blue's house) to be burned, and adds: "I am sorry to say that some straggling soldiers burnt other unoccupied houses on their return march." (Federal official reports, adjutant-general's office.)

the main body until the morning of Monday, the 13th, when the march to Romney was resumed. While waiting, however, Gen. Meem, with part of his militia, was sent on the 10th towards Moorefield, and Gen. Carson towards Bath, for the purpose of distracting the enemy; while Ashby, with a small force of cavalry, watched the movements of the Federal forces in Romney.²⁶ Meantime, Gen. Lander, who had been placed in command of all the Federal forces in this vicinity, evacuated Romney on the 10th, and fell back to the railroad at Patterson's creek. At this point he concentrated the troops from Hancock and Cumberland, as well as those from Romney and Springfield. The advance of the Confederates camped for the night of the 13th near Slanesville, headquarters being at Sherrard's, at Bloomery gap. Next day the march was continued through a cold and driving sleet. Jackson

²⁶ Jackson, on January 10, reported the distribution of his forces as follows:

183	infantry	at Winchester.
650	"	56 cavalry at Hanging Rock.
		50 " at North River Mills.
100	"	56 " at Martinsburg.
		60 " at Shepherdstown.
100	"	26 " at Duffield's Depot (Baltimore and Ohio railroad).
400	"	at Moorefield.
8,000	"	375 cavalry at Unger's Store.

And adds that "Brig.-Gen. Meem left here this morning for Moorefield with 545 infantry, and Brig.-Gen. Carson for Bath, sixteen miles off, with 200 infantry and 25 mounted militia."

Jackson's artillery consisted at this time of

McLaughlin's (Rockbridge) battery	6 guns.
Waters's battery	4 "
Carpenter's battery	4 "
Shumaker's battery	4 "
Marye's battery	4 "
Cutshaw's section (lost January 7)	2 "

and a section of heavy guns (twenty-four pounder Parrotts) sent out to Bath under Capt. Wood McDonald, but afterwards returned to Winchester because of the difficulty of transporting them over the bad roads.

The organization of the regular infantry under Jackson (which was all at Unger's Store) was as follows:

Loring's troops:			
Garnett's brigade:	Tallaferro's brigade:	Gilham's brigade:	Anderson's brigade:
2d Virginia regt.	23d Virginia regt.	21st Virginia regt.	1st Tennessee regt.
4th " "	37th " "	42d " "	7th " "
5th " "	3d Arkansas "	48th " "	14th " "
27th " "		Irish battalion.	
33d " "			

and the advance entered Romney in the evening. The retreating enemy had left some stores and equipage, which fell into his hands. (Map No. I.)

On the 15th, the troops being all up, Jackson began to prepare for another forward movement. At Cumberland²⁷ the Potomac, which approaches that town from the southwest, makes a sharp bend, and though tortuous, pursues, after leaving it, a direction but little east of south until it receives the waters of Patterson's creek. At the latter point the Baltimore and Ohio railroad crosses the creek going westward on an extensive bridge, and a short distance up the river crosses the Potomac itself to the north bank, on which side it continues past Cumberland to New creek, where it recrosses to the Virginia side. The bridges over the Potomac were important and valuable structures, and the demolition of them would render the railroad useless from New creek (now called Keyser) eastward. This Jackson desired to accomplish, and at the same time to do such damage as he could to the forces guarding them. As a first step he determined to destroy the bridge at New creek, so as to break Lander's western communications and threaten his flank and rear. The "Stonewall" brigade and that of Col. Taliaferro were selected for this undertaking.

Now it was that a new difficulty confronted the Confederate leader, and forced him to relinquish for the time all further movements. The severe privations of the soldiers at Bath and Hancock had not been endured without murmuring; the painful march to Unger's Store had not allayed the dissatisfaction, and

²⁷ Gen. Jackson had written on the 14th to Secretary Benjamin as follows:

"BLOOMERY GAP, January 14, 1862.

"HON. J. P. BENJAMIN:

"SIR:—Through the blessing of God I regard this district as essentially in our possession.

"There is reason to believe that there are medical and other stores in Cumberland which would, if in our possession, be of great value to our government. If you desire them to be secured, in addition to the other advantages resulting from the occupation of Cumberland and the dispersion or capture of their army near there, please send me at once 4,000 infantry and 350 cavalry. An engineer officer is much needed.

"T. J. JACKSON,
"Major-General."

that to Romney, in still more severe weather, had caused the discontent, especially in Gen. Loring's command, to become open and outspoken. Many men were in hospital from the effects of the exposure. It was commonly declared that the cold was more fatal than the enemy. A campaign at such a season, among inhospitable mountains, was pronounced madness. This feeling was not confined to the men. Many of the officers, under Jackson for the first time, sympathized with it, or did nothing to repress it. Rain and a partial thaw were converting the ice-bound roads into slush and mire. The sufferings of the march, now proposed, promised to be greater than those already endured. The result was that when Jackson was ready to set out he found the troops, and especially Taliaferro's brigade, so discontented, and opposition to further movements with the present roads and weather so wide-spread, as to render his proposed undertaking inexpedient. "With deep mortification and reluctance,"²⁸ says his biographer, "he therefore relinquished further aggressive movements, and prepared to defend what he had already won."

In two weeks, and with trifling loss, he had placed the troops opposed to him, while preparing for an aggressive movement, upon the defensive; had expelled them virtually from his whole district; had liberated three counties from their rule, and secured the supplies in them for the subsistence of his own troops.

He now proceeded to place his army in winter quarters. Gen. Loring's three brigades, and thirteen pieces of artillery, were quartered around Romney; Bogg's brigade of militia was spread along the South Branch of the Potomac, as far as Moorefield, and his pickets joined those of Gen. Edward Johnson on the Alleghany, while three companies of cavalry were left with Loring for outpost duty. Carson's brigade of militia was stationed at Bath; Meem's brigade at and beyond Martinsburg; and Ashby with the greater part of his cavalry regiment on the line of the Potomac. Garnett's brigade was ordered to Winchester to watch and oppose Banks, and to this place Gen. Jackson removed his own headquarters on the 24th of January. He thus left the larger part of his force at Romney, where it could subsist from

²⁸ Dr. Dabney.

the rich valley of the South Branch, and where it would be in position to meet an advance of the enemy from the northwest, or be ready to take advantage of the return of good weather to resume the offensive. A line of telegraph from Winchester was to put Jackson in communication with Romney. Garnett's brigade was stationed at the former place that it might be at hand to resist any movement of Gen. Banks, who menaced his front from Harper's Ferry to Williamsport, or might go to the assistance of Loring, if circumstances required.²⁹

When Jackson returned to Winchester, on the 24th of January, everything betokened some weeks of quiet, undisturbed by any important military movements. He was not aware, however,

²⁹ Gen. Jackson's views are thus given in a letter to the Secretary of War, Hon. J. P. Benjamin, dated January 20, 1862: "Though the enemy have retreated to the Potomac, yet they continue in possession of the frontiers of this district from seven miles below Cumberland to the Alleghany. On the first of this month there was not a single loyal citizen of Morgan county who, in my opinion, could with safety remain at home, and the same may be said respecting the most valuable portion of Hampshire county. A kind Providence has restored to us the entire county of Morgan, and nearly the entire county of Hampshire, but so long as the enemy hold possession of the railroad bridge, five miles below Cumberland, and the two railroad bridges above Cumberland, they can make dangerous inroads upon us. On last Friday night I designed moving rapidly, with my old brigade and one of Loring's, for the purpose of destroying one of the railroad bridges across the North Branch of the Potomac west of Cumberland, and thus cutting off their supplies from the west, and consequently forcing them to reduce their army in front of me; but as Gen. Loring's leading brigade, commanded by Col. Taliaferro, was not in a condition to move, the enterprise had to be abandoned. Since leaving Winchester, the 1st instant, the troops have suffered greatly, and Gen. Loring has not a single brigade in a condition for active operations, though in a few days I expect they will be much improved, and will, if placed in winter quarters, be able to hold this important portion of the Valley; but these quarters should be well selected and the position strengthened, and hence the great importance of having an engineer officer. It will not do for me to remain here much longer, lest Gen. Banks should cross the Potomac; consequently, in a few days I expect to leave this place, taking with me Garnett's brigade. I have written to Gen. J. E. Johnston that, unless otherwise directed, Gen. Loring's command will go into winter quarters in the South Branch valley, Gen. Carson's at Bath, Gen. Meem's at Martinsburg, and Gen. Garnett's at Winchester. The cavalry will be distributed at various points along the northern frontier. Gen. Bogg's brigade, which principally belongs to the South Branch valley, will be distributed over the section of country to which it belongs. It is very desirable that the troops should go into winter quarters as soon as possible, so I trust you will send me the best engineer officer you can, though it be for only ten days."

of the extent of the discontent excited among Gen. Loring's troops, and did not imagine that by leaving them at Romney this feeling would be increased. Yet such was the case. They complained bitterly of the campaign which had been conducted at the expense of so much suffering; a campaign now suspended, they said, only to leave *them* in an exposed and dangerous position, in the midst of an inhospitable mountain region, out of reach of adequate supplies and of timely succor. They declared their position untenable in case of an attack, and even attributed the removal of the "Stonewall" (Garnett's) brigade to Winchester, to favoritism. Jackson, silent and reserved in manner, never taking counsel even with his next in command as to his plans, most rigid and exacting as a commander, had not yet acquired that wonderful control over his soldiers which a few months later would have rendered such murmuring impossible. Indeed, it is difficult to realize the feeling of distrust then manifested, when we consider the unbounded enthusiasm and devotion with which many of these same men afterwards followed Jackson to victory and death.

As soon as the troops had gone into winter quarters furloughs were freely given, and in the course of a few days the complaints and criticisms which had become so rife at Romney were carried to Richmond, and were pressed upon the attention of the War Department. The Secretary was beset with accounts of what was termed Jackson's rash and ill-advised campaign, and his interference was most earnestly invoked in behalf of a gallant body of troops now, it was said, in danger of being overwhelmed in Romney by Gen. Lander's largely superior forces, whenever the latter should choose to make a dash at them from the Baltimore and Ohio railroad. The Secretary, far from the scene of operations, with no information as to the real state of the case, except such as reached him in the above way, and with little knowledge of Jackson's character and capacity, unfortunately yielded to the pressure brought upon him.

On the 31st of January, just one week after his return to Winchester, Gen. Jackson received the following telegram from the Secretary of War: "Our news indicates that a movement is

making to cut off Gen. Loring's command; order him back to Winchester immediately." This order was sent without consultation with Gen. J. E. Johnston, then in chief command in Virginia, or with Gen. Jackson himself, and of course reflected upon the latter's judgment and capacity. Gen. Jackson at once complied with the order, at the same time ordering back Carson's militia from Bath to Bloomery gap, and directing the troops on the left of Loring, in the South Branch valley, to fall back if the enemy should advance. He then wrote to the Secretary as follows:

"HON. J. P. BENJAMIN, etc.

"SIR:—Your order, requiring me to direct Gen. Loring to return with his command to Winchester immediately, has been received and promptly complied with.

"With such interference in my command I cannot expect to be of much service in the field, and, accordingly, respectfully request to be ordered to report for duty to the superintendent of the Virginia Military Institute at Lexington, as has been done in the case of other professors. Should this application not be granted, I respectfully request that the President will accept my resignation from the army.

"Respectfully, etc., your obed't servant,

"T. J. JACKSON."

This letter was forwarded through Gen. Johnston, to whose adjutant he at the same time wrote: "The Secretary of War stated in the order requiring Gen. Loring's command to fall back to this place immediately that he had been informed the command was in danger of being cut off. Such danger, I am well satisfied, does not exist, nor did it, in my opinion, exist at the time the order was given, and I therefore respectfully recommend that the order be countermanded, and that Gen. Loring be required to return with his command to the neighborhood of Romney." But the commander-in-chief, though concurring in Jackson's opinion of the campaign, did not think it best to assume the responsibility of giving the order, and all of Loring's troops returned to the

vicinity of Winchester.³⁰ In regard to the resignation, Gen. Johnston detained it for a time, and wrote urging Jackson to reconsider it.³¹

On the same day Jackson wrote to Governor Letcher as follows:

"Winchester, January 31, 1862.

"GOVERNOR:—This morning I received an order from the Secretary of War to order Gen. Loring and his command to fall back from Romney to this place immediately. The order was promptly complied with; but as the order was given without consulting me, and is abandoning to the enemy what has cost much preparation, expense, and exposure to secure, and is in direct conflict with my military plans, and implies a want of confidence in my capacity to judge when Gen. Loring's troops should fall back, and is an attempt to control military operations in detail from the Secretary's desk at a distance, I have, for the reasons set forth in the accompanying paper, requested to be ordered back to the Institute, and if this is denied me, then to have my resig-

³⁰ Dabney's Life of Jackson.

³¹ Gen. Johnston's letter is as follows:

"MY DEAR FRIEND:—I have just read, with profound regret, your letter to the Secretary of War, asking to be relieved from your present command, either by an order to the Virginia Military Institute or the acceptance of your resignation. Let me beg you to reconsider this matter. Under ordinary circumstances, a due sense of one's own dignity, as well as care for professional character and official rights, would demand such a course as yours. But the character of this war, the great energy exhibited by the government of the United States, the danger in which our very existence as an independent people lies, require sacrifices from us all who have been educated as soldiers. I receive my information of the order of which you have such cause to complain from your letter. Is not that as great an official wrong to me as the order itself to you? Let us dispassionately reason with the government on this subject of command, and if we fail to influence its practice, then ask to be relieved from positions the authority of which is exercised by the War Department, while the responsibilities are left to us.

"I have taken the liberty to detain your letter to make this appeal to your patriotism, not merely from warm feelings of personal regard, but from the official opinion, which makes me regard you as necessary to the service of your country in your present position." (Johnston's Narrative, p. 88.)

Many soldiers and citizens added their efforts to those of Gen. Johnston and Governor Letcher.

nation accepted. I ask as a special favor that you will have me ordered back to the Institute.

"As a single order like that of the Secretary may destroy the entire fruits of a campaign, I cannot reasonably expect, if my operations are thus to be interfered with, to be of much service in the field. A sense of duty brought me into the field, and has thus far kept me. It now appears to be my duty to return to the Institute, and I hope that you will leave no stone unturned to get me there. If I have ever acquired, through the blessing of Providence, any influence over troops, this undoing of my work by the Secretary may greatly diminish that influence.

"I regard this recent expedition as a great success. Before our troops left here on the 1st instant, there was not, so far as I have been able to ascertain, a single loyal man in Morgan county who could remain at home in safety. In four days that county was entirely evacuated by the enemy. Romney and the most valuable portion of Hampshire county was recovered without firing a gun, and before we had even entered the county.

"I desire to say nothing against the Secretary of War. I take it for granted that he has done what he believed to be best, but I regard such a policy as ruinous.

"Very truly, your friend,

"T. J. JACKSON.

"HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN LETCHER, Gov. of Va."

The Governor says: "The Secretary of War received the general's resignation before the general's letter reached me, and having been informed of the fact by one of my aides, to whom Mr. Benjamin communicated it, I at once went to the War Department, and after some conversation between the Secretary and myself, it was agreed that no action should be taken until I should have an opportunity to write to Gen. Jackson and receive his reply. I accordingly went to my office and wrote him a long and earnest letter, informing him of what had taken place, and urging such reasons as I thought would induce him to remain in the field, and concluding with the request that he would sanction what I had done and permit me to withdraw his resignation. This letter was

sent by my aide, Col. Boteler, and I was greatly gratified, on his return, to find that the general acceded to my wishes, and gave me his full consent to the withdrawal of his letter of resignation from the files of the War Department."³²

³² From a communication of Governor Letcher to the "Richmond Whig." Jackson's reply referred to is in the Archive Office in Washington, and is as follows:

"February 6, 1862.

"GOVERNOR:—Your letter of the 4th inst. was received this morning. If my retiring from the army would produce the effect upon our country that you have named in your letter, I, of course, would not desire to leave the service. And if, upon the receipt of this note, your opinion remains unchanged, you are authorized to withdraw my resignation, unless the Secretary of War desires that it should be accepted. My reasons for resigning were set forth in my letter of the 31st ult., and my views remain unchanged; and if the Secretary persists in the ruinous policy complained of, I feel that no officer can serve his country better than by making his strongest possible protest against it, which, in my opinion, is done by tendering his resignation, rather than be a willing instrument in prosecuting the war upon a ruinous principle. I am much obliged to you for requesting that I should be ordered to the Institute.

"Yours, etc.,

"T. J. JACKSON."

CHAPTER II.

KERNSTOWN.

The withdrawal of the Confederate troops from Romney was a surrender of whatever had been gained by the expedition, for it soon resulted in the reoccupation by the enemy of all the territory that had been recovered from him.

Various causes combined to prevent any further movement on the part of Gen. Jackson for some weeks. After the events narrated in the close of the last chapter it was deemed expedient to make some changes. Gen. Loring was ordered to a new command in the southwest, and all his troops that were not Virginians were gradually removed to the other wing of Gen. Johnston's army. This took away Anderson's brigade, composed of the First, Seventh, and Fourteenth Tennessee regiments, and the First Georgia and Third Arkansas from Taliaferro's, and left to Gen. Jackson, besides Garnett's brigade, Gilham's brigade (now commanded by Col. J. S. Burks),¹ composed of the Twenty-first, Forty-second, and Forty-eighth Virginia regiments, and the First battalion of regulars (commonly known as the Irish battalion), and the Twenty-third and Thirty-seventh Virginia regiments, under Col. Taliaferro. The militia commands had never been well organized, and they were now dwindling rapidly by details and enlistments in the volunteer forces.² In accordance with a

¹ Col. Gilham and Maj. Shipp had been ordered back to the Virginia Military Institute, where they held professorships, and Col. J. T. L. Preston, who had acted as adjutant-general and chief of staff for Jackson during the past few months, was ordered away for the same reason on February 1.

² The ideas of military efficiency in some of these commands were droll, and no doubt vexatious enough to the general. In the absence of Gen. Carson the command of his brigade devolved on Col. Sincin-diver, a corpulent and good-humored Dutchman, whose military training had been gained entirely at the annual militia musters which before the war constituted a feature of Virginia life. We find Jackson writing to him on February 11: "I regret to hear from an officer that it is *impossible* to execute an order. If your cavalry will not obey your orders you must *make them* do it, and, if necessary, go out with

law passed by the Confederate Congress to encourage re-enlistments, furloughs for thirty days were now given to those soldiers who re-enlisted, and a large number of men were permitted to be absent in this way. On the 7th of February orders were issued to authorize the giving of furloughs to re-enlisted men to the extent of one-third of the number present for duty. The diminution of his force from these causes would have kept Jackson inactive, even had not the condition of the roads, which broke up as soon as the weather moderated, put a stop to any important movements. The opening of an aggressive campaign by the Federal armies in Virginia, involving as it did an advance of the greatly superior force in his front, was soon to throw him on the defensive.

Gen. Lander, finding that the Confederates had withdrawn from Romney and the South Branch valley, reoccupied the former place without opposition on the 7th of February, and a few days later sent an expedition as far south as Moorefield. This party, under Col. Dunning, of the Fifth Ohio, met with no serious resistance, and brought off more than two hundred cattle. Work was busily resumed on the railroad, Gen. Carson having fallen back from Bath to Bloomery gap, and by the 14th the bridge over the Great Cacapon was rebuilt, and the railroad open once more from the west to Hancock. On this day Lander made a bold dash, with four hundred cavalry and several regiments of infantry, at the militia forces stationed at Bloomery. Leaving Paw-Paw on the evening of the 13th, he constructed, during the night, a temporary bridge of wagons over the Great Cacapon river, at a point about seven miles south of the railroad, and, crossing over, moved rapidly towards Bloomery, where he took Col. Sincindiver³ by surprise. Leading the charge of his cavalry himself, Gen. Lander dashed in among the Confederates before they had fully formed, and captured some seventy-five prisoners, of

them yourself. I desire you to go out and post your cavalry where you want them to stay, and arrest any man who leaves his post, and prefer charges and specifications against him, that he may be court-martialed. It will not do to say that your men cannot be induced to perform their duty. *They must be made to do it.* When you hear of marauding parties, send out and bring them in as prisoners of war." The affair of the 14th of February can hardly be wondered at.

³ Commanding in the absence of Gen. Carson.

whom seventeen were officers. The Confederates, rallying after their first panic, checked the Federals until the trains could be gotten away, when they retreated. The loss in killed and wounded was insignificant on both sides. On the same day a reconnoissance in force was made by Col. Carroll and two regiments of Federal infantry to Unger's Store. As soon as Jackson knew of this affair he ordered Ashby from Martinsburg, with what force he had at hand, to check the enemy. On the 16th, Col. Ashby drove out the detachment which Lander had left at Bloomery gap, but the territory beyond remained in Federal possession, and this rendered the railroad secure from Hancock westward. Jackson ceased to give furloughs for the time, and took steps, by sending a detachment with boats to Castleman's ferry, on the Shenandoah, to make good his communications with Gen. D. H. Hill, at Leesburg, on the eastern side of the Blue Ridge. (Map No. 1.) These precautions were taken against the advance of the enemy in force, but no further movements were made by Gen. Lander. That gallant officer was soon disabled by the effects of a wound received the preceding fall, which had been aggravated by active service. He sank rapidly, and died at his headquarters at Paw-Paw on the 2d of March.

The month of February wore on,—a month filled with disasters to the Confederate cause. On the 6th of that month Fort Henry, on the Tennessee river, was captured; on the 8th, Roanoke Island, North Carolina, fell; on the 12th, the Confederates evacuated Lexington, Missouri; and on the 15th, Bowling Green, Kentucky. Fort Donelson, Tennessee, fell on the 15th, Nashville on the 26th, and the evacuation of Columbus, Kentucky, was begun on the 27th. It was at this dark hour that Mr. Davis was inaugurated at Richmond, on the 22d of February, as first President of the Confederate States.

Meantime, the Federal administration was pushing forward its preparations for the campaign against Richmond, and Gen. Johnston was making his dispositions to meet them. President Lincoln was anxious to attack Johnston in his position at Manassas, and, as part of a general advance by all the Federal armies, which he ordered to take place on, or before, February 22, he

directed McClellan to advance "with all the disposable force of the Army of the Potomac, after providing safely for the defence of Washington," and seize the Orange and Alexandria railroad in Johnston's rear. This plan he abandoned, on the urgent representations of McClellan, and reluctantly adopted the general's plan of operations, by way of the lower Chesapeake and the York and James rivers.⁴ But before orders were issued to carry out this last purpose, it was determined to send Banks's and Lander's commands forward to cover the rebuilding of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad from Harper's Ferry to Hancock, and to take and hold Winchester and Strasburg. Measures were taken for this purpose about the 20th of February. On the 24th, the advance guard of Gen. Banks's column⁵ occupied Harper's Ferry, and a bateau bridge was soon laid across the Potomac at that point. Canal boats were collected for a more permanent bridge, and on the 26th Gen. McClellan went himself to Harper's Ferry to hasten the forward movement. He had ordered up two of the brigades of Sedgwick's (late Stone's) division to reinforce Banks. The first two brigades that arrived at Harper's Ferry were thrown over on the 26th, and orders were issued for the others to follow, when an unforeseen difficulty caused the Federal commander-in-chief to delay for the time the contemplated movement. The canal boats were found to be too wide to pass through the lock of the branch canal, which at this point was the only outlet to the river. The permanent bridge could not, therefore, be built at once, and a violent gale threatened the safety of the temporary one, which formed the only means of communication. "It was evident," says Gen. McClellan, "that the troops under orders would only be in the way should they arrive, and that it would not be possible to subsist them for a rapid march on Winchester. It was, therefore, deemed necessary to countermand the order, content ourselves with covering the reopening of the railroad for the present, and in the mean time use every exertion to establish,

⁴ This plan embraced the transfer of the Federal army by water from the vicinity of Washington and Alexandria to Fort Monroe, and its advance thence up the peninsula formed by the York and James rivers against Richmond.

⁵ Banks had wintered at Frederick, Maryland.

as promptly as possible, depôts of forage and subsistence on the Virginia side, to supply the troops and enable them to move on to Winchester, independently of the bridge. The next day (Friday, February 28) I sent a strong reconnoissance to Charlestown, and under its protection went there myself. I then determined to hold that place, and to move the troops composing Lander's and Williams's commands at once on Martinsburg and Bunker Hill, thus effectually covering the reconstruction of the railroad."

In accordance with these views Banks advanced slowly. Martinsburg was occupied on the 3d of March, but it was the 6th before all of Lander's division (now under Gen. Shields, who had been sent to it upon Lander's death) were up, and the Federals had occupied Bunker Hill and Smithfield.*

Jackson wrote to Gen. J. E. Johnston on the 24th of February as follows: "General:—First Lieut. James K. Boswell, of the Provisional Engineers, is directed to report to me for duty. I have plenty of work for him, but if you desire additional fortifications constructed for the defence of Winchester, please state what shall be their character, and I will put him at work immediately after his arrival. The subject of fortifying is of such importance as to induce me to consult you before moving in the matter. If you think that this place will be adequately reinforced if attacked, then it appears to me that it should be strongly fortified. I have reason to believe that the enemy design advancing on this place in large force. The Seventh and Fourteenth Tennessee regiments left, *via* Snicker's gap, for Manassas on the 22d. The remaining part

* Gen. G. H. Gordon, then of the Second Massachusetts regiment, of Abercrombie's brigade, says the Federal troops were at that time disposed as follows: "While our brigade moved on and to Charlestown from Harper's Ferry, Gen. Williams moved from Hancock through Martinsburg to Bunker Hill. . . . Gen. Hamilton, passing through Charlestown, stopped at Smithfield, midway between Charlestown and Bunker Hill. Gen. Shields halted at Martinsburg, and Gen. Sedgwick at Charlestown." Abercrombie, Williams, and Hamilton then commanded the three brigades which constituted Banks's division. (History of Second Massachusetts Regiment, 3d Paper, p. 15.)

On March 2, Banks, at Charlestown, was informed by a negro scout sent out by Col. Strother (of his staff) of the preparations for the evacuation of Winchester, etc. Strother says Banks was held back from advancing rapidly by the fear of a concentration from Manassas at Winchester against him, thus reversing the Manassas campaign of July, 1861. ("Harper's Magazine," January, 1867.)

of Gen. Loring's command can move at any time, but I deem it prudent to detain them until other troops arrive, or until something further is heard from you respecting their marching. The Third Arkansas regiment left here on the 22d, for the purpose of taking the cars at 7 A. M. this morning at Strasburg, *en route* for Fredericksburg. Gen. Holmes requested that the Seventh and Fourteenth Tennessee regiments should move to Manassas, where they should halt until they should receive orders to go to Evansport. I am making arrangements to construct, if possible, a raft bridge at Castleman's, so the troops at Leesburg and this place can co-operate with the least loss of time. If the two places were connected by telegraph several hours would be saved."⁷

But the retreat of the main Confederate army from the positions it had held since July, 1861; was about to begin. Gen. Johnston, after conference with President Davis, had begun the removal of stores and baggage on February 22. With the limited railroad facilities possessed by the Confederates, two weeks were not sufficient for the transportation of all the supplies that had been accumulated at and about Manassas, but Gen. Johnston did not think it prudent to delay longer. There were signs of activity among the Federal troops opposite his right, which led him to expect a movement by McClellan in the direction of Fredericksburg. The latter, under urgent pressure from President Lincoln, was really preparing to attack the Confederate batteries which partially blockaded the Potomac on Gen. Johnston's right. Johnston deemed that the time had come to place his army behind the Rappahannock, where he would be in position to meet a direct advance, or to oppose McClellan at Fredericksburg, should the Federal army choose that route, or to reach Richmond quickly in case of an advance by the York or James rivers. The movement was begun on the morning of the 7th of March by the withdrawal of Whiting from the lower Occoquan to Fredericksburg, and of

⁷ Jackson's vigor in enforcing discipline is illustrated by an order on February 25 to prevent the introduction of liquors into his command, which had been done by means of boxes sent to the soldiers by their friends. He directed "that every wagon that came into camp should be searched, and if any liquor were found, it was to be spilled out, and the wagon and horses turned over to the quartermaster." (Hotchkiss's Diary.)

D. H. Hill from Leesburg, by way of Warrenton, to the Rappahannock. The centre fell back from Centreville and Bull Run on the evening of the 9th, and on the 11th all the infantry and artillery were on the south side of the Rappahannock.

Jackson, meanwhile, remained at Winchester, watching closely the advance of Banks, and doing what was possible to impede it. Gen. Johnston thus describes the duty assigned to him: "After it had become evident that the Valley was to be invaded by an army too strong to be encountered by Jackson's division, that officer was instructed to endeavor to employ the invaders in the Valley, but without exposing himself to the danger of defeat, by keeping so near the enemy as to prevent him from making any considerable detachment to reinforce McClellan, but not so near that he might be compelled to fight."

Jackson's command at this time consisted of Garnett's brigade ("Stonewall"),⁸ containing the Second, Fourth, Fifth, Twenty-seventh, and Thirty-third Virginia regiments; Burks's brigade, containing the Twenty-first, Forty-second, and Forty-eighth Virginia regiments, and First battalion of regulars (Irish); and Fulkerson's brigade, containing the Twenty-third and Thirty-seventh Virginia regiments. These brigades were now numbered in order,—First, Second, and Third brigades of the Army of the Valley. There were five batteries of artillery and Ashby's regiment of cavalry. Jackson's entire force amounted to about four thousand six hundred (4,600) effective men, exclusive of some remnants of the militia brigades, distributed at various points in his district.⁹ Gen. Banks had his own division, under Williams,

⁸ The old "Stonewall" Brigade unaltered.

⁹ In J. E. Johnston's field return of February 28, 1862, the force in the "Valley District" under Jackson is as follows (after correcting some mistakes in the addition):

Present for duty, officers and men: infantry, 4,297; artillery, 369; cavalry, 601; total, 5,267.

An examination of such regimental returns as are on file among the Confederate archives in Washington shows that the strength (present for duty, officers and men), on the 1st of March, of the Twenty-third and Thirty-seventh Virginia regiments (Fulkerson's brigade), and of the Twenty-first, Forty-second, and Forty-eighth Virginia regiments and the Irish battalion (Burks's brigade), was 1837. No returns of Garnett's brigade of that date are to be found there; but the returns of the Fourth, Fifth, Twenty-seventh, and Thirty-third Virginia regiments for February 1 give their strength as 1,403. These regiments,

and Shields's (late Lander's) troops now incorporated in his corps, and also the three brigades of Sedgwick. On the 1st of April the strength of Banks's corps (Fifth), embracing Shields, is given by Gen. McClellan as twenty-three thousand three hundred and thirty-nine (23,339), including three thousand six hundred and fifty-two (3,652) cavalry, and excluding two thousand one hundred (2,100) railroad guards.¹⁰ Sedgwick's division,¹¹ which was with him in the advance on Winchester, must have increased his force to more than thirty thousand (30,000) men.

Jackson sent his stores, baggage, and sick to the rear, but continued to hold his position at Winchester to the last moment. This town lies in the midst of an open country, and is easily

with the Second Virginia, constituted Garnett's brigade. Estimating the Second at the average of the other four, the brigade numbered at that date 1,754. Adding this to the sum given above for the other brigades on March 1, we have 3,591—say 3,600—as the infantry under Jackson on March 1. The difference (about 700) between this and the infantry strength as given by Gen. Johnston is to be accounted for either by supposing that some of the fragments of the militia commands were included in the return used by Johnston, or that some of the non-Virginian regiments ordered elsewhere had not gone at the date of the making of that return. The last of these regiments did not leave Jackson's district until the 22d or 23d of February. Taking the artillery and cavalry from Gen. Johnston's return, Jackson's effective strength (excluding some remnants of militia) was,—infantry, 3,600; artillery, 369; cavalry, 601; total, 4,570—say 4,600—men.

¹⁰ McClellan's report, in "Rebellion Record," p. 546, vol. i., Supplement.

¹¹ McClellan says, "The whole of Banks's division and two brigades of Sedgwick's division were thrown across the river at Harper's Ferry, leaving one brigade of Sedgwick's division to observe and guard the Potomac from Great Falls to the mouth of the Monocacy." This last brigade of Sedgwick's (Gorman's) was subsequently sent forward, March 11, and joined those in advance at Berryville on the 14th. Jackson having retired and Winchester having been occupied, the whole of Sedgwick's division was sent back to Bolivar on March 15. Gen. McClellan's morning report, dated March 2, 1862, gives Banks's strength as follows:

Officers and men present for duty:

Banks's division	15,398
Lander's division (Shields's)	11,869
Sedgwick's division	11,217
Total	38,484

This, no doubt, included railroad guards and other detachments in the rear, but his movable column could hardly have been less than 30,000 men, and was probably more, up to the 15th of March, when Sedgwick's division was ordered to the rear.

turned on every side. Nevertheless, the Confederate commander ordered the fortifications to be repaired as soon as the movements of the enemy indicated an advance in his direction. Banks, as stated, occupied Charlestown on the 26th of February, and made reconnoissances on the different roads leading to and around Winchester. But it was not until March 7 that his advance reached Stephenson's depot, four miles from Winchester. Jackson awaited him, drawn up in line of battle, on the plain in front of his fortifications, and between the Berryville and Martinsburg roads. The Federals did not attack, but withdrew to Charlestown. The activity of Ashby's cavalry, and the boldness with which Jackson maintained his position, impressed his adversary with the conviction that the Confederate force was much greater than it was in reality. No attack was made by the wary enemy, and no opportunity afforded of making a dash at some exposed position of his advance. The Federal left was pushed gradually forward, as if to envelop Jackson, and on the 11th occupied Berryville. Sedgwick's division was thrown forward to this point. (Map No. 1.)

Excellent roads lead from Berryville to Winchester, and to Newtown and other points in rear of Winchester. It was no longer safe for the Confederate leader to hold his position. The enemy at Berryville was already on his flank, only ten miles distant, and could easily reach his rear. He again drew up his little force, however, north of the town, to meet the advance of the main body of Banks's force from the direction of Smithfield and Charlestown, and remained under arms all day; but, though the enemy came on to within four miles of Winchester, they did not attack. Late in the afternoon Jackson reluctantly withdrew, and after night followed his trains, which had already been sent forward to Kernstown and Newtown.¹² The indefatigable Ashby

¹² Jackson had ordered his trains into camp immediately south of Winchester, but, by some mistake on the part of those in charge, they were taken between Kernstown and Newtown, some five miles or more from Winchester, and the troops had to march that distance to get supper. The general, who had remained behind and was ignorant of this, called a council, consisting of Gen. Garnett and the regimental commanders of the "Stonewall" brigade, to meet in Winchester after dark, and to them he proposed a night attack upon the portion of

covered the rear, and Banks occupied the town on the morning of the 12th. The same day the main body of the Confederates reached Strasburg, distant eighteen miles from Winchester, where they halted until the 15th. Banks sent forward Shields's division, which, on the 19th, entered Strasburg, and Jackson fell back before it to Woodstock and Mount Jackson, the former place being twelve and the latter twenty-four miles southwest of Strasburg. (Map No. I.)

The antagonism between Gen. McClellan and the Federal administration, that ultimately resulted in the removal of the former from command, assumed definite shape soon after the entrance of Mr. Stanton upon his duties as Secretary of War, in January, 1862. As a consequence, there was much vacillation about the movements of the Federal Army of the Potomac. McClellan strongly urged the plan of campaign by way of the Peninsula, with Fortress Monroe as a base. President Lincoln refused to approve, then gave his consent, then half withdrew it by loading down the proposed movement with conditions to be first fulfilled. Gen. Johnston's retirement from Manassas relieved the Federal administration, in some degree, of its apprehensions in regard to Washington, and induced an acquiescence for the time in McClellan's plans. The following extracts from McClellan's report show the Federal plans at this time:¹³

Banks's troops near Stephenson's. He proposed, after the troops had eaten supper and rested for some hours, that they should march to the neighborhood of the enemy and make the attack before daylight. The plan was not approved by the council, and Jackson learned from those present that the troops, instead of being in the suburbs of Winchester, were already five or six miles away. A march of ten miles would thus be needed to bring them into contact with the enemy. This last fact and the disapproval of the council caused him to abandon the plan. He followed the troops and bivouacked in a fence-corner. The foregoing is understood to have been Jackson's first and last council of war. (For the above account I am indebted to Gen. John Echols, of Staunton, Virginia, then colonel of the Twenty-seventh Virginia regiment, who was present at the conference.)

¹³ McClellan's report, pp. 531, etc., "Rebellion Record," vol. 1., Supplement.

“HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF POTOMAC.
“FAIRFAX COURT-HOUSE, March 13, 1862.

“A council of the generals commanding army corps, at the headquarters of the Army of the Potomac, were of the opinion—

“I. That the enemy having retreated from Manassas to Gordonsville, behind the Rappahannock and Rapidan, it is the opinion of the generals commanding army corps that the operations to be carried on will be best undertaken from Old Point Comfort, between the York and James rivers. *Provided;*

“1st. That the enemy’s vessel Merrimac can be neutralized.

“2d. That the means of transportation sufficient for an immediate transfer of the force to its new base can be ready at Washington and Alexandria to move down the Potomac; and

“3d. That a naval auxiliary force can be had to silence, or aid in silencing, the enemy’s batteries on the York river.

“4th. That the force to be left to cover Washington shall be such as to give an entire feeling of security for its safety from menace. (Unanimous.)

“II. If the foregoing cannot be, the army should then be moved against the enemy behind the Rappahannock at the earliest possible moment, and the means for reconstructing bridges, repairing railroads, and stocking them with materials sufficient for supplying the army should at once be collected, for both the Orange and Alexandria and the Acquia and Richmond railroads. (Unanimous.)

“N.B.—That with the forts on the right bank of the Potomac fully garrisoned, and those on the left bank occupied, a covering force in front of the Virginia line of twenty-five thousand men would suffice. (Sumner.)

“This was assented to by myself, and immediately communicated to the War Department. The following reply was received the same day:

““WAR DEPARTMENT, March 13, 1862.

““The President having considered the plan of operation agreed upon by yourself and the commanders of army corps, makes no objection to the same, but gives the following directions as to its execution:

“ ‘1st. Leave such forces at Manassas Junction as shall make it entirely certain that the enemy shall not repossess himself of that position and line of communication.

“ ‘2d. Leave Washington entirely secure.

“ ‘3d. Move the remainder of the force down the Potomac, choosing a new base at Fortress Monroe, or anywhere between here and there; or, at all events, move such remainder of the army at once in pursuit of the enemy by some route.

“ ‘EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

“ ‘MAJ.-GEN. GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN.’ ”

For the purpose of leaving Washington secure, the defences of that city were well manned, and the command of them given to Gen. Wadsworth, and the following instructions were sent to Gen. Banks:

“HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF POTOMAC,
March 16, 1862.

“SIR:—You will post your command in the vicinity of Manassas, intrench yourself strongly, and throw cavalry pickets out to the front.

“Your first care will be the rebuilding of the railway from Washington to Manassas and to Strasburg, in order to open your communications to the Valley of the Shenandoah. As soon as the Manassas Gap railway is in running order, intrench a brigade of infantry, say four regiments, with two batteries, at or near the point where the railway crosses the Shenandoah. Something like two regiments of cavalry should be left in that vicinity to occupy Winchester, and thoroughly scour the country south of the railway and up the Shenandoah valley, as well as through Chester gap, which might, perhaps, be advantageously occupied by a detachment of infantry; well-intrenched block-houses should be built at all the railway bridges. Occupy, by grand guards, Warrenton Junction and Warrenton itself, and also some little more advanced point on the Orange and Alexandria railroad, as soon as the railway bridge is repaired.

“Great activity should be observed by the cavalry. Besides

the two regiments at Manassas, another regiment of cavalry will be at your disposal to scout towards the Occoquan, and probably a fourth towards Leesburg.

"To recapitulate: the most important points which should engage your attention are as follows:

"1st. A strong force, well intrenched, in the vicinity of Manassas, perhaps even Centreville, and another force (a brigade), also well intrenched, near Strasburg.

"2d. Block-houses at the railway bridges.

"3d. Constant employment of the cavalry well to the front.

"4th. Grand guards at Warrenton Junction, and in advance as far as the Rappahannock, if possible.

"5th. Great care to be exercised to obtain full and early information as to the enemy.

"6th. The general object is to cover the line of the Potomac and Washington.

S. WILLIAMS, A. A. G.

"MAJ.-GEN. N. P. BANKS, Com. Fifth Corps, Army of Potomac."

In compliance with these instructions, Shields's division was recalled from Strasburg, and Williams's division began its movement towards Manassas on the 20th of March. The Confederate force in front was known to be so small that no difficulty was anticipated in carrying out McClellan's instructions, and no apprehensions were entertained that the force designated by him would not be sufficient to hold the lower Valley and "cover the line of the Potomac."

On the evening of March 21, Col. Ashby, who for several days had been vigorously skirmishing with the enemy between Strasburg and Woodstock, reported that they had evacuated the former place, and Jackson, apprehensive that this indicated their withdrawal from his military district in the direction of Washington, determined at once to pursue with all his available force. Fulkerson's brigade, which was at Woodstock, marched at dawn on the 22d, and at the same time Garnett's ("Stonewall") and Burks's brigades left Mount Jackson. The whole camped at Strasburg on the evening of the 22d. Ashby had followed the

retreating enemy on Friday night, 21st, and on Saturday, 22d, came up with the Federal pickets about one mile south of Winchester. He attacked about 5 P. M., and drove them in. Gen. Banks was still in Winchester, and, though the last of Williams's division had left early on the morning of the 22d on the way to Manassas, the Second division, under Shields, was still in the place. This command was ordered under arms, and an infantry brigade and two batteries of artillery and some cavalry were sent out on the Strasburg road to meet Ashby. The latter, who had from two hundred to three hundred cavalry and Chew's battery of three guns, after a brief skirmish, retired to Kernstown, three miles south of Winchester, where he took position for the night. The enemy, having repelled the Confederate cavalry, did not pursue. In the skirmish Gen. Shields was struck by a piece of shell, which fractured his arm and disabled him for a time for service on the field. Gen. Shields says that in this affair he concealed his troops as much as possible from the Confederates,¹⁴ and the impression of the smallness of his force thus produced was confirmed by the information obtained within his lines by Col. Ashby. Report was brought to the latter not only that the mass of the northern troops had left, but that only four regiments of infantry remained, and that these were under orders to march to Harper's Ferry in the morning. This information, transmitted to Gen. Jackson, induced the latter to hurry forward the next day.

During the night Gen. Shields made his dispositions to resist any further attack, by sending forward Kimball's brigade and Daum's artillery on the Strasburg road, nearly to Kernstown. Sullivan's brigade was posted in rear of Kimball's, within supporting distance of it, covering all the approaches to Winchester by way of the Cedar Creek, Front Royal, Berryville, and Romney roads. Tyler's brigade and Broadhead's cavalry were held in reserve. The effective strength of his whole force Gen. Shields puts at seven thousand (7,000).¹⁵

¹⁴ Gen. Shields's report.

¹⁵ McClellan says (p. 546 of his report, in "Rebellion Record"), in a letter dated April 1, 1862, to the adjutant-general U. S. A.: "If Shields's division, leaving out the cavalry, consisted of only 7,000, the other division, under Williams, must have contained over 12,000 men."

But though these precautions were taken, the Federal commanders did not expect an attack. The force under Jackson was known to be so greatly inferior to their own that they did not think he would risk a battle so far from support as was Winchester from the position occupied by Gen. Johnston, behind the Rappahannock and Rapidan. On the morning of the 23d a Federal reconnoissance was made, of which Gen. Shields says: "Not being able to reconnoitre the front in person, I despatched an experienced officer, Col. J. T. Mason, of the Fourth Ohio volunteers, about 9 o'clock A. M., to the front to perform that duty, and to report to me as promptly as possible every circumstance that might indicate the presence of the enemy. About an hour after, Col. Mason returned, and reported to me that he had carefully reconnoitred the country in front and on both flanks, and found no indications of any hostile force, except that of Ashby. I communicated this information to Maj.-Gen. Banks, who was then with me, and, after consulting together, we both concluded that Jackson could not be tempted to hazard himself so far away from his main support. Having both come to this conclusion, Gen. Banks took his departure for Washington, being already under orders to that effect. The officers of his staff, however, remained behind, intending to leave for Centreville in the afternoon."¹⁶

Jackson, on the other hand, knowing that a large body of Federal troops had left Winchester, and were marching in the direction of Manassas and Centreville, and believing, from the information received through Col. Ashby, that the force remaining in Winchester was much smaller than was actually the case, determined to lose no time in attacking the latter, that he might thereby produce a recall of the troops sent off. At daylight on Sunday morning (23d) he sent forward three companies of the Second Virginia regiment and one of the Twenty-seventh Virginia, under Capt. Nadenbousch, as an infantry support to Col. Ashby, and soon after moved forward with his whole force in the direction of Kernstown. The distance to be marched was fourteen miles, and it was ten o'clock in the forenoon before the advance under Nadenbousch reached Ashby, and 1 P. M. when the

¹⁶ Gen. Shields's report, "Rebellion Record," vol. iv.

main Confederate force reached the vicinity of Kernstown. Col. Mason's report to Gen. Shields of the condition of affairs at 9 A. M. was therefore perfectly correct, for at that time Jackson was still miles away.

When Jackson reached Kernstown his troops were very weary. Three-fourths of them had the day before marched from the neighborhood of Mount Jackson to Strasburg, a distance of twenty-two miles, to which had been added the march of fourteen miles from the latter place to Kernstown. He therefore gave directions for bivouacking, and says: "Though it was very desirable to prevent the enemy from leaving the Valley, yet I deemed it best not to attack until morning." He continues: "But subsequently, ascertaining that the Federals had a position from which our forces could be seen, I concluded that it would be dangerous to postpone the attack until the next day, as reinforcements might be brought up during the night."¹⁷

Meantime, Ashby had been actively skirmishing with the enemy. He had opened on them near the Strasburg turnpike with Chew's battery, and when Nadenbousch arrived he pushed forward the infantry companies under the latter to drive back the Federal skirmishers and protect the guns. For a little time Ashby advanced, and Nadenbousch drove the enemy's skirmishers before him. But Col. Kimball, who commanded the First brigade of Shields's division, and as senior Federal officer commanded on the field in the absence of Gen. Shields, soon made his dispositions to counteract this movement of Ashby by sending forward the Eighth Ohio and two companies of the Sixty-seventh Ohio as skirmishers, on both sides of the turnpike. He supported them on the right by Jenks's battery, posted on a hill to the west of the village of Kernstown, and on the left by the whole of Sullivan's brigade (the Second of Shields's division), with several batteries so disposed as to protect that flank. Of course this force soon checked Ashby and compelled him to retire. When he had fallen back some four or five hundred yards, he was informed of the arrival of the main body of the Confederates, and received orders to prepare for an advance upon the Federal position, the special duty assigned him being to "threaten the front and right" (Fed-

¹⁷ Jackson's report.

eral left). At the same time a part of his cavalry regiment, under Maj. Funsten, was detached to operate on the other flank (left), of the Confederate army. This detachment was subsequently increased until it amounted to one hundred and forty men, which left with Ashby only one hundred and fifty cavalry. (Map No. III.)

Jackson's infantry force consisted of the first ("Stonewall") brigade, now under Gen. Garnett, comprising five regiments, and of the Second, now under Col. Burks, comprising three regiments and one battalion, and of the Third brigade, under Col. Fulkerson, comprising only two regiments. The Forty-eighth Virginia regiment, of Burks's brigade, was acting as train-guard, and was not on the field during the battle. All these regiments were much reduced by the absence of re-enlisted men still on furlough, and of those who had fallen out of ranks in the severe two days' march. The number present on the afternoon of the battle was: of infantry, three thousand and eighty-seven (3087), of which two thousand seven hundred and forty-two (2742) were engaged; of artillery, twenty-seven (27) pieces, of which eighteen (18) were engaged; and of cavalry, two hundred and ninety (290).¹⁸ Gen.

¹⁸ The forces under Gen. Jackson at Kernstown were as follows (I have appended strength given in the regimental reports of the battle as far as it could be found):

First brigade, under Gen. Garnett:

Second Virginia regiment.....	320 rank and file.
Fourth Virginia regiment.....	203 rank and file.
Fifth Virginia regiment.....	not found.
Twenty-seventh Virginia regiment.....	170 muskets.
Thirty-third Virginia regiment.....	275 rank and file.
McLaughlin's battery.....	not found, 8 guns.
Waters's battery.....	90 men, 4 guns.
Carpenter's battery.....	48 men, 4 guns.

Second brigade, under Col. Burks:

Twenty-first Virginia regiment.....	270.
Forty-second Virginia regiment.....	293.
Forty-eighth Virginia regiment.....	not found.
First battalion of regulars (Irish b't'n).	187.
Marye's battery.....	4 guns.

Third brigade, under Col. Fulkerson:

Twenty-third Virginia regiment.....	177 officers and men.
Thirty-seventh Virginia regiment.....	397 officers and men.
Shumaker's battery.....	4 guns.
Ashby's regiment of cavalry.....	290.
Chew's battery.....	3 guns.

The Forty-eighth Virginia regiment and the batteries of Shumaker and Marye were not engaged.

Shields, as above, states his force of all arms at seven thousand (7000).¹⁹

A high ridge lies just beyond the western limits of Winchester, and extends for some miles in both a northeast and a southwest direction from the town. After breaking one mile from the town to let through Abram's creek, it continues in the southwest direction without serious interruption for six miles, until it is again broken by the valley of the Opequon creek, at J. S. McGill's. The Strasburg or "Valley" turnpike runs not far from the eastern foot of this ridge to a toll-gate about two miles southwest of Winchester. At that point the Cedar Creek turnpike branches off to the right, and, pursuing a more westerly direction, soon crosses this ridge at a depression on J. N. Bell's farm. The main or Strasburg road, gradually separating from the ridge, continues nearly due south to Kernstown and some distance beyond, when it again bends to the southwest. To the west of the last-named village a considerable elevation, known as Pritchard's hill, intervenes between the turnpike and ridge, affording a good position for artillery. A short distance south of the toll-gate, where the Cedar Creek road leaves the Valley turnpike, a common dirt road also leaves it, on the same side but at a less angle. This road, known as the Middle, or old Cedar Creek road, runs along

¹⁹ Gen. Shields says he "had 6,000 infantry and a cavalry force of 750, and 24 pieces of artillery." His organization was as follows:

First (Kimball's) brigade	Second (Sullivan's) brigade:	Third (Tyler's) brigade:
8th Ohio regiment.	13th Indiana regiment.	7th Ohio regiment.
67th " "	5th Ohio " "	29th " "
14th Indiana " "	62d " "	1st Virginia " "
84th Pennsylvania reg't.	39th Illinois " "	7th Indiana " "
		110th Pennsylvania reg't.
Daum's artillery:		Broadhead's cavalry:
Jenks's battery ("A," First Virginia).	4 companies	First Michigan cavalry.
Clark's " ("E," Fourth artillery).	2 " "	Ohio " "
Davis's " ("B," First Virginia).	2 " "	Maryland " "
Robinson's " ("L," First Ohio).	6 " "	First Virginia " "
Huntington's battery ("H," First Ohio).	2 " "	Ringgold and Washington cavalry.

There were also a company of Massachusetts sharpshooters, and Company B, First Maryland Infantry (Federal), present.

Gen. McClellan's return for March give Shields's strength (officers and men present for duty) as 12,255, and enumerates 203 companies as composing his division. From the above it appears that about 152 or 153 of these companies were present at Kernstown. At the average Gen. Shields would have had over 9,000 men present.

the eastern face of the ridge spoken of, crossing the little spurs that jut out from it, and passes between Pritchard's hill and the ridge, but does not cross the latter. It passes through the ridge at the gap made by the Opequon valley. Several country roads or lanes connect the "Middle" road with the Valley turnpike on the one hand, and with the Cedar Creek turnpike on the other. The most important of them is one leading from Kernstown over the very crest of the ridge into the valley beyond, and thence to the Cedar Creek turnpike. The ridge we speak of commands the Strasburg road from Kernstown to Winchester. A level country extends eastward from this last-named road and gradually falls away towards the Opequon. (Map No. III.)

Jackson, upon his arrival, found the enemy in full force of artillery and infantry upon both sides of the Strasburg road, with guns posted also above Kernstown, on Pritchard's hill. The enemy's position in front was good, and Ashby's operations had induced him to guard so heavily his left flank, east of the turnpike, that no favorable opportunity was there offered for attack. Jackson therefore determined to seize the main ridge, turn the enemy's right flank resting on it, and thus render his whole line untenable. He left Col. Burks's brigade with Ashby on the turnpike, to support the latter and to act as reserve, while he led Fulkerson's brigade and part of Carpenter's battery towards the left. When near Opequon church,²⁰ Carpenter halted and fired a few rounds at the enemy on Pritchard's hill. He then followed the infantry farther to the left, under a heavy shelling from the Federal batteries,²¹ until the high ground was reached. Garnett's brigade

²⁰ This church carries one back to the first settlement of the Valley of Virginia. The first regular settlement in this Valley was made in 1732 by a party of colonists, consisting of sixteen families, under Joist Hite, from Pennsylvania, who settled on the Opequon. They were Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. In 1735, William Hoge joined them, and having settled on the land about Kernstown, gave the lot on which the church stands for the use of the first Presbyterian congregation ever organized in Virginia west of the Blue Ridge. Mr. Hoge was the ancestor of the family of that name distinguished in church and state in Virginia. (Foote's Sketches.)

²¹ Col. Fulkerson speaks of this shelling as very heavy. The remaining infantry were ordered to the ridge by a route more to the rear and less exposed to the Federal guns. (Map. No. III.)

was made to follow. Having found a favorable position for artillery, Jackson sent for the remainder of Carpenter's, and also for McLaughlin's and Waters's batteries, supported by a portion of Col. Burks's brigade. Jackson directed Ashby to keep up a continuous demonstration on the turnpike, and now opened vigorously on the left with his batteries. These were located along the ridge, parallel to its general direction, and engaged the Federal batteries to the east and northeast of them, forcing the enemy to withdraw. The Twenty-seventh Virginia (Col. John Echols) and the Twenty-first Virginia (Col. J. M. Patton) were thrown forward as skirmishers in advance of the artillery, and soon became hotly engaged. The Thirty-seventh and Twenty-third Virginia regiments, under Col. Fulkerson, then moved forward on the left of Echols, and, in the face of a heavy musketry fire, occupied a stone fence which ran down the west side of the ridge. This fence ran along the southern edge of a narrow, rocky field, on the northern side of which was a large body of woods. The position of Fulkerson, perpendicular to the direction of the ridge, was nearly at right angles to the line of batteries that constituted the Confederate right wing. Echols and Patton, who were quickly supported by the Thirty-third, Second, and Fourth Virginia regiments, of Garnett's brigade, and the Irish battalion, held the centre, which constituted an angle, since the line did not continue down the east side of the ridge, but having reached the crest was turned back along the top. The Confederate line was thus wedge-shaped; the artillery constituting the right arm, Fulkerson's brigade the left, and four of Garnett's with two of Burks's regiments occupying the centre, to the northwest of the crest of the ridge, and facing, for the most part, in the same direction as Fulkerson's. (Map No. III.)

The movements of the Confederates and the fire of their batteries had revealed to Col. Kimball the danger to which his right wing was exposed, and he had taken prompt steps to counteract the threatened onset. Tyler's brigade had reached the toll-gate at the junction of the Cedar Creek and Strasburg roads about 2 P. M., and was waiting there in reserve. This force (composed of the Seventh and Twenty-ninth Ohio, First Virginia, Seventh

Indiana, and One Hundred and Tenth Pennsylvania) was ordered to reinforce the Federal right, and to throw itself upon the Confederate left flank. The movement was promptly executed. On its success depended the day, for it was justly feared by Col. Kimball that his right would not be able to sustain the attack of Jackson. Tyler moved out on the Cedar Creek road to the point where that road crosses the ridge, when he left the road and moved rapidly along the crown and both faces of the ridge itself until he reached the battle-field. This he did by 3.30 P. M., which was just when Jackson had sent forward his infantry to flank the Federal right. Tyler at once led his troops to the attack, his right opposite to Fulkerson. A vigorous onset was made against the Confederate line, but it was everywhere repulsed. Fulkerson had just occupied the position behind the stone fence, already mentioned, when he was attacked by two Federal regiments attempting to seize the same cover. His fire at close quarters was so severe that the Federal regiments broke, and one of them, the One Hundred and Tenth Pennsylvania, did not recover during the day. The remainder of the Federal line, however, soon rallied and renewed the attack, and a fierce and sanguinary conflict raged, especially along the Confederate centre. A second attempt to turn Fulkerson's left flank was defeated, and the heat of battle was concentrated on Garnett's part of the line. For two hours the roar of the musketry and artillery was incessant. "Here the struggle became desperate, and for a short time doubtful," says Gen. Shields. Reinforcements drawn from the Federal left, now that it had become evident that the main attack was against the other flank, were rapidly hurried forward to Tyler. The Fifth and Sixty-second Ohio and Thirteenth Indiana, of Sullivan's brigade, Fourteenth Indiana and Eighty-fourth Pennsylvania, and seven companies of the Sixty-seventh Ohio, and three companies of the Eighth Ohio, of Kimball's brigade, went to his assistance, and with these fresh troops a new and more vigorous attack was made on the Confederate position.

Meantime, Jackson was using every effort to make headway against this force, so much larger than he had believed within reach, and so much greater than his own. His thinned and tired

Battle of KERNSTOWN, Sunday, March 23^d, 1862.

SCALE OF MILES

2 miles



Confederates in red
Federals in blue.

regiments were incited to hold on stubbornly to the advantage gained. The places of the fallen were quickly taken by others, and when the ammunition of some was expended they borrowed from those who yet had it. The Fifth Virginia, which had been left in reserve, and the Forty-second Virginia were ordered up, and a messenger was sent back to the train to hurry forward the Forty-eighth, that the last man might be thrown into the wavering scale. But before these slight reserves arrived the onset of Tyler, strengthened as he was by six additional regiments, had staggered the Confederate line and caused it to waver. Gen. Garnett, who was bearing the brunt of the attack, felt that his thinned lines could not longer maintain their position without risk of being overwhelmed. He therefore gave the order to fall back. This order was not known to Jackson, who was at the time on a different part of the field, and he bitterly regretted it, always maintaining that his troops could have held their positions until the reserves had gotten up. The Confederate left wing was easily able from its position behind the stone fence to maintain itself, but the retirement of Garnett involved the retreat of Fulkerson, whose right and rear were thus exposed. The withdrawal had to be effected in the face of a comparatively powerful enemy, and was an operation of difficulty and danger.²³

²³ Maj. R. M. Copeland, assistant adjutant-general to Gen. Banks, says, in his report: "The centre and right wing (Federal) were composed of three batteries and about five regiments of infantry, with a considerable force of cavalry. A high and commanding position on our right was occupied by the enemy at about 3 o'clock P. M., and a severe fire opened on our centre, which compelled the withdrawal of a portion of our force into a more secure position.

"At about 3:30 P. M. Col. Tyler was ordered to attack the enemy's new position on our right, and to take their battery. He moved immediately forward, with three or four regiments, a battery, and about 400 cavalry, through a dense wood, which covered the enemy's centre and left wing. In about half an hour after Col. Tyler's movement his skirmishers exchanged shots with the enemy, who were posted behind high stone walls, a rocky hill, and some woods, a quarter of a mile in front of his battery. The enemy reserved his fire until our line was very near. They then rose and poured a very heavy volley. The suddenness and strength of their fire caused our lines to falter, and the extreme left, composed mainly of the One Hundred and Tenth Pennsylvania volunteers, broke and ran. The rest of the line soon rallied and maintained a steady fight (falling back on the right and advancing on the left) for at least half an hour, when two regiments came to their assistance up the left flank and through a very severe fire. They ad-

Gen. Garnett met the Fifth Virginia coming to his assistance, but ordered it back. Jackson, seeing the danger now impending, stopped this regiment as soon as he saw it filing to the rear, and placed it in position in a piece of woods behind his former position, and ordered the retreating infantry to form upon it. Soon Col. Burks, with the Forty-second regiment, came up on the right of Col. William H. Harman, of the Fifth. In the midst of the fight some guns had been advanced to assist the infantry; these were now placed near the right of the Forty-second regiment, and these two regiments, with the artillery, made for a time a vigorous resistance to the advancing enemy, and gave the retreating troops time to rally and the remainder of the artillery time to withdraw. Twice were the attacks on their position repulsed; but the advancing Federals, spreading out on both flanks, pressed back the Fifth and Forty-second regiments, and finally forced them from the field.²³

It was now night, and the Federals had full possession of the field of battle. They picked up two or three hundred prisoners from the Confederates as the latter fell back, and also two guns, both of which had been disabled. The mass of the Confederates marched by way of Shady Elm factory to Bartonsville, on the turnpike. Maj. Funsten checked the Federal cavalry, and soon all pursuit was abandoned. Jackson, having reached the Valley turnpike, fell back five or six miles slowly and sullenly to his trains, which had been parked a short distance south of Newtown.

vanced steadily, and soon gained a position from which they could flank the enemy delivering their fire. When they received this new fire the enemy fell back rapidly, but still fighting, to the woods nearest the hill, from which the battery had been in the meantime withdrawn.

"Having in vain attempted to rally the One Hundred and Tenth Pennsylvania volunteers (which, with such company officers as I could see, was in a shameful rout), I gained the advance on the first field which the enemy had held, where there were many dead and wounded." Maj. Copeland says that Tyler then moved slowly forward, supporting Kimball and Sullivan.

²³ Maj. Copeland says of this second stand: "The enemy now opened on our line with a heavier fire than before. We maintained our position from the first, and soon drove them in utter confusion down the hill; but the near approach of night forbade further pursuit."

See reports of Cols. Harman and Burks.

The loss of the Confederates in the battle of Kernstown was eighty killed, three hundred and forty-two wounded (of whom about seventy were left on the field), and two hundred and sixty-nine missing; total, six hundred and ninety-one (691).²⁴ Two pieces of artillery, disabled and left on the field, were captured. In regard to the Federal loss, Gen. Shields says in his report, dated six days after the battle: "The killed and wounded in this engagement cannot even yet be accurately ascertained. Indeed, my command has been so overworked that it has had but little time to ascertain anything. The killed, as reported, are one hundred and three, and among them we have to deplore the loss of the brave Col. Murray, of the Eighty-fourth Pennsylvania volunteers, who fell at the head of his regiment while gallantly leading it in the face of the enemy. The wounded are four hundred and forty-one, many of them slightly, and the missing are twenty-four."²⁵ This gives a total of five hundred and sixty-eight (568)

Next day the citizens of Winchester, headed by Philip Williams, Esq., asked and obtained permission to bury the Confederate dead. The troops from that town were mostly in Jackson's command, and its people began a long series of noble deeds, destined to glorify the great struggle, by tenderly laying to rest, where they fell, the soldiers who at Kernstown had died for their country.²⁶

²⁴ Jackson's report. The brigade and regimental reports of the losses at Kernstown make them a little greater. Thus:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
Garnett reports for his brigade.....	41	162	158	361
Burks's losses by regimental reports....	24	114	39	177
Fulkerson's losses by regimental reports.	15	76	71	162

700

Ashby's loss was not reported, but it was slight. The total Confederate loss may have reached 725.

²⁵ Shields's report, "Rebellion Record," vol. iv. p. 330.

²⁶ After the war, the ladies of Winchester, from the midst of saddened and desolate homes, continued their self-denying care for the ashes of the brave men to whose comfort and encouragement they had contributed so freely in life, and by whose suffering cots they had often watched in sorrow, danger, and death. Under the leadership of Mrs. Philip Williams, they gathered the thousands of Confederate dead from the surrounding battle-fields and placed them in the "Stonewall Cemetery,"—a monument not more to the patriotism of man than to the devotion of woman.

Jackson firmly believed that his failure was needlessly brought about by the retirement of Gen. Garnett. The retreat of the latter he considered ill-timed, and a fatal mistake. So strong was his conviction on this point that, notwithstanding the fact that the regimental officers of Garnett's brigade supported their brigade commander, he soon after removed Garnett, and preferred charges against him.²⁷

Weary and dispirited was the little army which had marched fourteen miles in the morning, had attacked a force more than double its own, and for three hours had wrestled for victory in a most vigorous fashion. Baffled and overpowered, it slowly retraced its path for six miles and sank to rest. In the fence-corners, under the trees, and around the wagons they threw themselves down, many too weary to eat, and forgot, in profound slumber, the trials, dangers, and disappointments of the day. Jackson shared the open-air bivouac with his men, and found the rest that nature demanded on some fence-rails near the road.²⁸ Next morning he crossed to the south side of Cedar creek, and gradually retired before the advancing enemy, once more, to Mount Jackson.

The bold attack of Jackson at Kernstown, though unsuc-

²⁷ Brig.-Gen. Garnett was relieved on April 1, and Brig.-Gen. C. S. Winder assigned to the command of the First brigade. Gen. Garnett was subsequently assigned to one of Pickett's brigades, and fell, gallantly leading it, in the famous charge of that division on the heights of Gettysburg, July 3, 1863.

Whether Garnett's judgment at Kernstown was correct will perhaps always remain a question; not so his splendid courage and unselfish patriotism.

²⁸ Jackson followed his troops, and when near Newtown halted at a camp-fire and warmed himself for some time. He then remounted and rode back towards the Opequon, followed by several of his staff, who, overcome by weariness, dropped away one by one, until only Maj. W. J. Hawks (chief commissary) remained with the general. Then turning from the road into an orchard, he fastened his horse, and asked the major if he could make a fire, adding, "We shall have to burn rails to-night." The major soon had a roaring fire, and was making a bed of rails, when the general wished to know what he was doing. "Fixing a place to sleep," was the reply. "You seem determined to make yourself and those around you comfortable," said Jackson. Knowing the general had fasted all day, the major soon obtained some bread and meat from the nearest squad of soldiers, and after they had satisfied their hunger, they slept soundly on the rail-bed in a fence-corner.

cessful, led to many important results. Its first effect was the accomplishment of one of the principal objects of the Confederates,—the recall of the Federal troops then marching from the Valley towards Manassas. Gen. Shields says: "Though the battle had been won, still I could not have believed that Jackson would have hazarded a decisive engagement, so far from the main body, without expecting reinforcements; so, to be prepared for such a contingency, I set to work during the night (after the battle) to bring together all the troops within my reach. I sent an express after Williams's division, requesting the rear brigade, about twenty miles distant, to march all night and join me in the morning. I swept the posts and routes in my rear of almost all their guards, hurrying them forward by forced marches, to be with me at daylight. . . . Gen. Banks, hearing of our engagement on his way to Washington, halted at Harper's Ferry, and, with remarkable promptitude and sagacity, ordered back Williams's whole division, so that my express found the rear brigade already *en route* to join us. The general himself returned here forthwith, and, after making me a hasty visit, assumed command of the forces in pursuit of the enemy.²⁹ This pursuit was kept up with vigor, energy, and activity until they reached Woodstock." Thus the design of McClellan to put Banks's corps at Centreville (see letter of March 16th) became impracticable, and that body of twenty thousand troops³⁰ was thought necessary to guard against the further movements of Jackson's three thousand and the reinforcements, in large part imaginary, which they attributed to him. This battle, too, no doubt, decided the question of the detachment of Blenker's division of ten thousand men from McClellan, and its transfer to Fremont, recently placed in command of the Mountain Department.³¹ While *en route* from Alexandria to Fremont, Blenker's

²⁹ Gen. Banks, on the 24th, requested Sedgwick, who was leaving the Valley, to remain at Harper's Ferry some hours longer with his troops.

³⁰ McClellan's report, p. 546.

³¹ The "Mountain Department" embraced the territory between Banks's districts and Halleck's. It had the Alleghanies for its eastern boundary, and embraced the present State of West Virginia. A few days before the end of March, President Lincoln informed Gen. Mc-

division was to join Banks, and remain with him as long as he thought any attack from Jackson impending.³² More important and more fraught with momentous consequences was the next step. For a few days later the sensitiveness of the Federal government to the danger of Washington, excited by Jackson, led to the detachment of McDowell's corps from McClellan, and its retention in front of the Federal capital, in place of that of Banks. When McClellan left, on April 1, for Fortress Monroe, to take

Clellan that he had resisted the pressure brought upon him to detach Blenker's division; yet, on March 31, the President writes: "This morning I felt constrained to order Blenker's division to Fremont, and I write this to assure you that I did it with great pain, understanding that you would wish it otherwise." (McClellan's report.)

³² McClellan's orders to Banks on April 1 were as follows:

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.

"ON BOARD THE COMMODORE, April 1, 1862.

"GENERAL:—The change in affairs in the Valley of the Shenandoah has rendered necessary a corresponding departure, temporarily at least, from the plan we some days since agreed upon.

"In my arrangements I assume that you have with you a force amply sufficient to drive Jackson before you, provided he is not reinforced largely. I also assume that you may find it impossible to detach anything towards Manassas for some days, probably not until the operations of the main army have drawn all the rebel force towards Richmond. . . . I will order Blenker to march on Strasburg, and to report to you for temporary duty, so that, should you find a large force in your front, you can avail yourself of his aid as soon as possible. Please direct him to Winchester, there to report to the adjutant-general of the army for orders; but keep him until you are sure what you have in front.

"In regard to your own movements, the most important thing at present is to throw Jackson well back, and then to assume such a position as to enable you to prevent his return. As soon as the railway communications are re-established, it will be probably important and advisable to move on Staunton; but this would require secure communications, and a force of from 25,000 to 30,000 for active operations. It should also be nearly coincident with my own move on Richmond; at all events, not so long before it as to enable the rebels to concentrate on you and then return on me. I fear that you cannot be ready in time, although it may come in very well with a force less than that I have mentioned after the main battle near Richmond. When Gen. Sumner leaves Warrenton Junction, Gen. Abercrombie will be placed in immediate command of Manassas and Warrenton Junction, under your general orders. Please inform me frequently, by telegraph and otherwise, as to the state of things in your front.

"I am very truly yours,

"GEO. B. MCCLELLAN,

"Major-General Commanding.

"MAJ.-GEN. N. P. BANKS, Commanding Fifth Corps."

command of his army on its advance up the Peninsula towards Richmond, he left for the defence of Washington and its approaches seventy-three thousand four hundred and fifty-six (73,456) men and one hundred and nine (109) field guns.³³ These were distributed as follows:³⁴

At Warrenton, Virginia	7,780
At Manassas	10,859
In the Shenandoah valley (including Blenker)	35,467
On the lower Potomac	1,350
In Washington and the forts around it . .	18,000

Yet the Federal President, after Kernstown, did not consider his capital secure, and on April 3 countermanded the order for the embarkation of McDowell's corps, and detained it in front of Washington. In a letter to Gen. McClellan of April 9, President Lincoln says: "Gen. Banks's corps, once designed for Manassas Junction, was divided and tied up on the line of Winchester and Strasburg, and could not leave it without again exposing the upper Potomac and the Baltimore and Ohio railroad. This presented (or would present, when McDowell and Sumner should be gone) a great temptation for the enemy to turn back from the Rapahannock and sack Washington. My explicit directions that Washington should, by the judgment of all the commanders of corps, be left entirely secure, had been entirely neglected. It was precisely this that drove me to detain McDowell. I do not forget that I was satisfied with your arrangement to leave Banks at Manassas Junction, but when that arrangement was broken up, and nothing was substituted for it, of course I was not satisfied; I was constrained to substitute something for it myself."³⁵

³³ To these McClellan adds 4,000 new troops organizing in New York, and whom he recommends should be brought to Washington at once.

³⁴ McClellan's report, p. 546.

³⁵ McClellan evidently thought that with Banks occupying Jackson, and with over 36,000 men distributed at Warrenton and Manassas, and around Washington itself, the Federal President and capital were reasonably safe! But Mr. Lincoln thought otherwise. On April 4, Gen. Banks was placed in chief command of that portion of Virginia and Maryland lying between the Mountain Department (Fremont's) and

While these changes were taking place in the disposition of the Federal forces, Jackson was resting and recruiting his little army. He had fallen back by degrees to Mount Jackson. A mile to the south of Mount Jackson the north fork of the Shenandoah river, which drains the western Valley from Harrisonburg to Strasburg, crosses over from the northwest side of the Valley, along which it at first runs, to the southeast side, where it continues to keep its course until it makes its way around the north end of the Massanutton mountains, opposite Strasburg, in order to unite with the main stream near Front Royal. At the point where it crosses the Valley, the meadows which border it are bounded on the south side by a plateau, the front of which, on the Valley turnpike, is known as Rude's hill. To this position Jackson finally (April 2) moved the main body of his forces, while Ashby and the cavalry were posted in front to observe the enemy. The latter advanced to Woodstock on April 1, driving Ashby's pickets, and finally forcing him back as far as Edenburg, five miles south of Woodstock.³⁶ Here, however, the line of Stony creek afforded Ashby a good defensive position, and Jackson having reinforced him with a brigade of infantry, he effectually checked the advance of the Federals. This support, with the addition of a section of artillery, was continued to Ashby for the next two weeks, while he held this line.³⁷ The Confederates de-

the Blue Ridge. This region, composed principally of the valley of the Shenandoah river, was to be styled the "Department of the Shenandoah." Gen. McDowell, on the same day, was put in chief command of the portion of Virginia east of the Blue Ridge and west of the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac railroad, including the District of Columbia and the country between the Potomac and Patuxent. His department was to be known as that of the Rappahannock. Henceforth these officers were to be independent of Gen. McClellan and of each other.

³⁶ Jackson made his headquarters at Woodstock on the 24th of March, at Narrow Passage on the 26th, at Hawkinstown on the 29th, and at Rev. Mr. Rude's on April 2.

³⁷ On the day that Ashby first took position along Stony creek (April 1), he was at one time riding along the edge of the woods held by his skirmishers, reconnoitring the enemy, followed by a little boy named "Dixie," a sort of pet of the camp. A bullet from a sharpshooter, aimed at Ashby, struck Dixie's horse in the head and killed it. The boy rolled off, and was jumping up to run, when Ashby called him back and told him to get his saddle and bridle, coolly waiting for him, though a mark for a continual fire.

stroyed the bridges on the Manassas railroad as they retired. During the next fortnight no further advances were made, though frequent skirmishes occurred along Ashby's line on Stony creek. For this period Jackson remained at Rude's hill. At this time his command greatly improved in numbers and spirits. The militia of the Valley had been called out, and the regiments from Augusta county, about five hundred men in all, had reached Mount Jackson before the Confederate advance to Kernstown.³⁸ A considerable portion of the men enlisted within a few days in the

³⁸ They reached the vicinity of Mount Jackson on March 20. On March 21 we find Jackson writing to Col. S. Bassett French, aide-de-camp to Governor Letcher, as follows:

"COLONEL:—Please request the Governor to order three thousand muskets to Staunton at his earliest convenience for the militia of this district. None of the militia beyond this county, except five hundred from Augusta, have yet arrived, but they are turning out encouragingly. There are three religious denominations in this military district who are opposed to war. Eighteen were recently arrested in endeavoring to make their escape through Pendleton county to the enemy. Those who do not desert will, to some extent, hire substitutes, others will turn out in obedience to the Governor's call, but I understand some of them say they will not 'shoot.' They can be made to fire, but can very easily take bad aim. So, for the purpose of giving to this command the highest degree of efficiency, and securing loyal feelings and co-operation, I have, as these non-combatants are said to be good teamsters and faithful to their promises, determined to organize them into companies of one hundred men each, rank and file, and after mustering them, with the legal number of company officers, into service, assign them to the various staff departments without issuing arms to them; but if at any time they have insufficient labor, to have them drilled, so that, in case circumstances should justify it, arms may be given them. If these men are, as represented to me, faithful laborers and careful of property, this arrangement will not only enable many volunteers to return to the ranks, but will also save many valuable horses and other public property in addition to arms. . . . All I have pledged myself is that, as far as practicable, I will employ them in other ways than fighting, but with the condition that they shall act in good faith with me, and not permit persons to use their names for the purpose of keeping out of service. . . ."

On March 29 the Governor ordered all the militia to be drafted into existing organizations until these were full. The execution of this order was begun on April 4. On April 14, Gen. Jackson writes to Gen. W. B. Richardson, adjutant-general of Virginia, that "the militia have not turned out as well as I was induced to believe, but those who are here are a fine body of men, and bid fair to render good service. . . . I fear there will not be enough militia to fill up the old companies. . . ." He advised stringent measures to bring them out, but the conscription bill, passed two days later, made all further action on the part of the State unnecessary.

regular army, and the remainder were soon absorbed in the same way, under the operation of the orders of the Governor of Virginia and the stringent measures taken by the Confederate States Congress to fill up the southern armies. Militia organizations virtually ceased to exist after this time.

The evils growing out of the manner in which the Confederate troops had been everywhere organized, and the short terms for which the greater part had enlisted, had been severely felt. The Confederate regiments were all volunteer organizations which had rushed into service at the beginning of the war, in most cases for twelve months. As the end of this time approached, efforts had been made to induce re-enlistment by appeals to the men and by bounties, and furloughs of thirty or sixty days had been granted to those re-enlisting, the result of which was to deplete to an extreme point all the armies in the field. These efforts were only partially successful, and the uncertainty this existing, with the fact that all officers were to be elected upon the new organization, rendered discipline lax. The oldest regiments had entered the service in April, 1861, so that their term of service had nearly expired, and a partial disintegration of the army was threatened at the opening of the spring campaign. Fortunately, the Confederate Congress, seeing the impending danger, and stimulated, no doubt, by the misfortunes which had everywhere, in February and March, befallen the Confederate arms, solved the difficulty by passing, on the 16th of April, a general conscription bill, placing all the able-bodied men of the country, between eighteen and thirty-five years of age, in the military service. The discussion of this bill, and the prospect of its passage, had stimulated re-enlistment and volunteering, and the Confederate armies everywhere began to fill up. Jackson found his skeleton regiments much enlarged from these causes, as well as by the return of furloughed men. The cavalry grew rapidly, and Ashby soon found himself at the head of a large regiment. This gallant cavalryman, however, was more at home in leading a dashing charge, or in a hand-to-hand conflict, than in drilling and organizing a mass of raw recruits. As a consequence, while his career was filled with daring and bril-

liant exploits, the achievements of his cavalry, acting as a mass, did not do justice to the material of which it was composed, nor to his bold leadership.

On the 2d of April, Jackson was informed that a number of disloyal men belonging to the Rockingham militia, and residing in a remote part of the Blue Ridge, had banded together to resist the law calling them into military service. He immediately despatched Lieut.-Col. J. R. Jones, of the Thirty-third Virginia regiment, with four companies of infantry, part of Capt. Harry Gilmer's company of cavalry, and two guns under Capt. Cutshaw, to quell the disturbance. This was soon effected,³⁹ and without bloodshed.

Brig.-Gen. C. S. Winder having reported to Gen. Jackson, was assigned, April 1, to the command of the "Stonewall" brigade, and Col. W. B. Taliaferro, having been promoted to brigadier-general, was assigned to the command of the brigade consisting of the Thirty-seventh and Twenty-third Virginia regiments.⁴⁰

The first half of April was cold and raw, with much snow and rain, and the roads, except the turnpikes, were very deep. But by the middle of the month it had grown milder, and better weather was now to be expected. The Federal commander determined to move forward, and on the 17th his forces were put in motion. A company of Ashby's cavalry, on outpost duty between Mount Jackson and Columbia Furnace, was surprised by the advance and captured.⁴¹ Shields's division soon pressed back

³⁹ Col. (then Capt.) Cutshaw says this force marched into the mountain recesses, but the people fled or hid themselves. From high points the woods were shelled, and this greatly increased the panic among the simple mountaineers. Many came in and surrendered, and no further trouble was had.

⁴⁰ General Order No. 36, April 4, from Jackson's headquarters, announced the organization of the Army of the Valley. Brig.-Gen. C. S. Winder was assigned to the First brigade ("Stonewall"). The Second brigade remained under Col. John Campbell, and the Third brigade under Col. Fulkerson (Gen. Taliaferro not having yet reported). McLaughlin's and Carpenter's batteries were assigned to the First brigade, Marye's and Waters's to the Second brigade, and Shumaker's to the Third. All the cavalry was placed under Ashby.

⁴¹ This was Capt. Harper's company of cavalry. They were captured by four companies of infantry from Donnelly's brigade in conjunction with the Ringgold and Washington cavalry.

the whole of Ashby's force through Mount Jackson, and the Federal army occupied that place. At the same time Carroll's brigade, of Shields's division, was sent forward on the back road which runs parallel to the main turnpike and west of it, thus turning the Confederate flank. Ashby destroyed the greater part of the railroad property and bridges as he retired, but failed in his attempt to burn the turnpike bridge over the north fork of the Shenandoah. Here the Federals pressed him closely, seized the bridge and extinguished the fire before it had made any headway. Ashby's horse was badly wounded, but bore him safely from the field before it fell dead. On the same day Jackson broke up his camp at Rude's hill and retreated before the advancing enemy in the direction of Harrisonburg. This town, which is twenty-five miles south of Mount Jackson, he reached during the morning of the 18th. Here, instead of continuing towards Staunton, he turned off to the left, at right angles, in the direction of the Blue Ridge, and on the night of the 18th camped at Peale's, six miles from Harrisonburg, at the northern end of the Massanutton mountains.⁴² (Map No. I.) Next day, moving by the village of McGaheysville, he crossed the main Shenandoah river at Conrad's Store, and went into camp in Elk Run valley, between the Shenandoah and Swift Run gap, in the Blue Ridge.⁴³ Over this gap led a good road to Stanardsville and Gordonsville, by means of which he was placed in communication with Gen. Ewell, who then held the line of the Rapidan river.

On the day that Jackson crossed the river he sent some cavalry with Capt. Hotchkiss to burn the bridges on the south fork of the Shenandoah, between Conrad's Store and Luray. The southernmost one was burned, but the enemy had seized the Columbia and White-House bridges near Luray, and they drove off the Confederates, who attempted to retake them. The move-

⁴² Gen. Edward Johnson, whose force was on Shenandoah mountain, came to confer with Gen. Jackson while he was at Peale's. In his absence Gen. Johnson's troops fell back towards Staunton, in consequence of information having reached them of Jackson's movement towards Swift Run gap.

⁴³ This "gap" is that by which Governor Spotswood and his Golden Horseshoe Knights obtained, in 1716, the first view had by white men of the Valley of the Shenandoah.

ments of Jackson led Banks to believe for a time that he had left the Valley.⁴⁴

Meantime, the transfer of McClellan's army to the Peninsula had caused the withdrawal of all the Confederate army, except Jackson's and Ewell's divisions, from Northern Virginia, and its concentration in front of the Federal forces. Gen. J. E. Johnston says: "When it was ascertained, about the 5th of April, that the Federal army was marching from Fort Monroe towards Yorktown, D. H. Hill's, D. R. Jones's and Early's divisions were transferred from the Army of Northern Virginia to that of the Peninsula. The former was thus reduced to four divisions: Jackson's, at Mount Jackson; Ewell's, on the Rappahannock; Longstreet's, at Orange Court-House; and G. W. Smith's, at Fredericksburg.

"Before the 10th, the President was convinced by Maj.-Gen. Magruder's reports that the entire army just brought down the Potomac from Alexandria, by Gen. McClellan, was then on the Peninsula, to move upon Richmond by that route. He therefore directed me to make such defensive arrangements as might be necessary in the Department of Northern Virginia, and put my remaining troops in march for Richmond, and then to report to him for further instructions. In obedience to these orders, Maj.-Gen. Ewell was left with his division and a regiment of cavalry in observation on the upper Rappahannock, and Maj.-Gen. Longstreet was directed to march with his to Richmond. Maj.-Gen. Jackson was left in the Valley to oppose greatly superior Federal forces, and authorized to call Ewell's division to his assistance in case of necessity, and Gen. Ewell was instructed to comply with such a call. Maj.-Gen. G. W. Smith was instructed to leave a

⁴⁴ Gen. Banks, in a despatch to the Federal War Department, April 19, says: "To-day I have been to the bridges on the south fork of the Shenandoah, in the Massanutton valley, with a force of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, to protect the two important bridges that cross the river. We were within sight of Luray at the south bridge. A sharp skirmish occurred with the rebels, in which they lost several men taken prisoners. Their object was the destruction of the bridges. . . . I believe Jackson left this Valley yesterday. He is reported to have left Harrisonburg yesterday for Gordonsville by the mountain road. He encamped last night at McGaheysville, eleven miles from Harrisonburg." ("Rebellion Record," vol. iv. p. 93.)

mixed force, equal to a brigade, in front of Fredericksburg, and move towards Richmond with all his remaining troops."⁴⁵ Gen. Johnston was called to Richmond, and on April 17 was placed in command of all the forces opposing McClellan.

Jackson, conscious of his inability with five or six thousand men to resist in the open country the advance of Banks, had availed himself of the nature of the country to take a position where he could be attacked only at great disadvantage, and yet might threaten the flank and rear of the advancing column if it attempted to pass him. Such was his position in Elk Run valley, at the foot of the Blue Ridge. The main Shenandoah river covered his front,—a stream not easily fordable at any time, and now swollen by the spring rains. The spurs of the Blue Ridge, as they run out towards this river, afford almost impregnable positions for defence; his flanks could only be turned by toilsome and exposed marches, while good roads led from his rear over the mountains into the country about Gordonsville, and placed him within easy reach of the support he might call for from Gen. Ewell. Thus secure in his position, Jackson at the same time more effectually prevented the farther advance of the Federal column than if he had remained in its front; for he held the bridge nearest him over the Shenandoah, and was but a day's march from Harrisonburg, and should Banks venture to move forward towards Staunton, he was ready to hurl the Confederate forces against the enemy's flank and rear.⁴⁶ Gen. Banks, at Har-

⁴⁵ Johnston's Narrative, p. 109.

⁴⁶ Jackson writes to Gen. Lee on April 23: "Banks's main force is still in the vicinity of New Market, extending from one mile below to three above the town. Yesterday he had near one hundred wagons twelve miles above New Market, and a part of his force even entered Harrisonburg, seventeen miles from New Market. My object has been to get in his rear at New Market or Harrisonburg if he gives me an opportunity, and this would be the case if he should advance on Staunton with his main body. It appears to me that if I remain quiet a few days more he will probably make a move in some direction, or send a larger force towards Harrisonburg, and thus enable me, with the blessing of Providence, to successfully attack his advance; and if I am unsuccessful in driving back his entire force, he may be induced to move forward his command from New Market and attempt to follow me through the this gap, when our forces would have greatly the advantage.

"Without Gen. Ewell's division, Banks can march on to Staunton, though, if he attempts it, I design threatening his flank and rear, and

risonsburg, was in the midst of a hostile country, already one hundred miles from the Potomac at Harper's Ferry, with which a long line of wagon communication had to be maintained. To push on to Staunton, with Jackson on his flank and rear, was virtually to sacrifice his present line of communication with no practicable substitute in view; to attack the Confederates on the slopes of the mountains, with even a greatly superior force, was to risk defeat. He therefore determined to rest satisfied for the present with the advantages already gained. The greater part of the Shenandoah valley was now in his possession. Jackson had been "thrown well back," and had been forced to leave the main highway passing along that Valley, and to seek refuge in the fastnesses of the mountains. Staunton was but twenty-five miles away; another column from the west was threatening it. In a short time, by co-operation with this column, the place might be taken; or, to take a wider view, operations in front of Richmond might soon force Jackson from the Valley altogether.

Jackson rested a few days in Elk Run valley, at the foot of Swift Run gap, in the Blue Ridge mountains. Here the reorganization of his regiments was completed, and some further additions were made to his numbers by enlistments. His strength now approximated six thousand (6000).⁴⁷

this may prevent his reaching Staunton; but without doing this he could advance so far as to threaten Gen. Edward Johnson's rear so seriously as to make him fall back, and thus let Staunton fall into the hands of the Federal force in his front. . . ."

Later on the same day Jackson writes that the news from Fredericksburg induces him to believe that Ewell's division may be more needed there than with him, and says he will "make arrangements so as not to be disappointed should he (Ewell) be ordered to Fredericksburg."

A few days later the news from Fredericksburg was more reassuring, and this led Jackson to apply for troops from that point. (See next chapter.)

The letters from which the above extracts are taken are in the Confederate archives in Washington.

⁴⁷ The Tenth Virginia regiment of infantry was transferred at this time from Ewell's division to Jackson's. It reached Swift Run gap on April 21, and was assigned to the Third (Taliaferro's) brigade.

CHAPTER III.

McDOWELL.

On the 28th of April Jackson applied to Gen. Lee, then acting as commander-in-chief under President Davis, for a reinforcement of five thousand men, which addition to his and Ewell's forces he deemed necessary to justify him in marching out and attacking Banks, and asked if the troops could not be spared from the force covering Fredericksburg. On the next day Gen. Lee replied as follows:

"HEADQUARTERS, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, April 29, 1862.

"MAJ.-GEN. T. J. JACKSON, Commanding, etc., Swift Run Gap, Virginia.

"GENERAL:—I have had the honor to receive your letter of yesterday's date. From the reports that reach me, that are entitled to credit, the force of the enemy opposite Fredericksburg is represented as too large to admit of any diminution whatever of our army in that vicinity at present, as it might not only invite an attack on Richmond, but jeopard the safety of the army in the Peninsula. I regret, therefore, that your request to have five thousand men sent from that army to reinforce you cannot be complied with. Can you draw enough from the command of Gen. Edward Johnson to warrant you in attacking Banks? The last return received from that army shows a present force of upwards of three thousand five hundred, which, it is hoped, has been increased by recruits and returned furloughs. As he does not appear to be pressed, it is suggested that a portion of his force might be temporarily removed from its present position and made available for the movement in question. A decisive and successful blow at Banks's column would be fraught with the happiest results, and I deeply regret my inability to send you the reinforcements you ask. If, however, you think the combined

forces of Gens. Ewell and Johnson, with your own, inadequate for the move, Gen. Ewell might, with the assistance of Gen. Anderson's army, near Fredericksburg, strike at McDowell's army, between that city and Aquia, with much promise of success; provided you feel sufficiently strong alone to hold Banks in check.

"Very truly yours,

"R. E. LEE."¹

At this time Gen. Ewell's division was in the vicinity of Stanardsville, and there was no Federal force south of the Rapahannock in his front, McDowell having drawn his forces to the neighborhood of Fredericksburg. Gen. Edward Johnson,² who had so successfully repulsed the attack made on his camp at Alleghany,³ on December 13, had fallen back to the Shenandoah mountain, where it is crossed by the Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike, to prevent a flank movement from the direction of Moorefield. The retreat of Jackson from Harrisonburg to Swift Run gap had uncovered the roads to the rear of this force, and on April 20 it had fallen back still farther, to West View, only seven miles west of Staunton. (Map No. I.) It consisted of six regiments of infantry, three batteries, and a small force of cavalry, and numbered, according to the inspector-general, Col. A. Smead, at McDowell, a week after this time, about three thousand (3,000) effective men.⁴

The force opposing Johnson consisted of a brigade under Milroy, supported by another under Schenck, the two containing some six thousand (6,000) men.⁵ This formed a part of the

¹ Taylor's "Four Years with General Lee," p. 38.

² Now placed under Jackson's command.

³ Camp Alleghany is fifteen miles west of Monterey, on the Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike.

⁴ Gen. Edward Johnson, in a letter dated March 18, reports his strength as:

Aggregate present for duty.....	2,425
---------------------------------	-------

Aggregate present	2,784
-------------------------	-------

This is the latest report (giving his strength) I could find among the Confederate archives.

⁵ Fremont puts Schenck's force at "about 3,000," and Milroy's at "3,500 effective men." (Fremont's report.)

command of Gen. Fremont, who was preparing to move forward with other troops to strengthen it.⁶ Schenck was at Franklin, Pendleton county, while Milroy was at McDowell, and had—after the retreat of Gen. Johnson—pushed his advance over the

⁶ Gen. Fremont says that he relieved Rosecrans on March 29, 1862, that the total troops then turned over to him consisted of thirty-five and two-tenths regiments of infantry, thirty-six companies of cavalry, and nine batteries of artillery; total number of men, 34,271. A few days after, the troops in Southwest Virginia and Eastern Kentucky, amounting to 9,195, were detached from his command. He adds to this 6,269 as the usual percentage "for sick, etc., and not available for duty," and states 18,807—"say in round numbers 19,000 men"—as his effective force left. "A small but not appreciable increase of this was made by enlistments in the department, but the policy of the War Department did not foster this." He continues: "When sent to the department I was promised 17,000 men as reinforcements. On April 1 was despatched that Blenker's division was *en route* to join me; as it had not reached Harper's Ferry by the 12th of April, I asked what had become of it, and that it be sent to Moorefield by the shortest route." Rosecrans was temporarily conducting it. It was dreadfully in want of horses and transportation. On April 21, Fremont was informed it could not move for want of shoes. It was thus greatly delayed, but finally joined him at Petersburg, Hardy county, May 11. Fremont's plan of campaign, submitted to President Lincoln on April 21, was as follows: "The first base of operations being the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, the division of Gen. Blenker, which, from the best information I can obtain, numbers about 9,000 men, will take position at Moorefield. At this point, or at Franklin, it will unite with the troops now under command of Gen. Schenck, numbering about 3,000 men. With these, acting in conjunction with Gen. Banks, I propose to move up the Valley of Virginia by a course which you will see on the accompanying map, over roads which are as dry and as good at all seasons of the year as any in Virginia, and through a country where forage is easily obtained. At Monterey I shall be joined by the troops under Gen. Milroy, numbering 3,500 effective men, and can then strike the railroad at or near Salem, while Gen. Cox (in command along the Kanawha), with his 7,000 men, takes possession of Newburn; or can first effect a junction with Gen. Cox and seize the railroad with a force thus increased to about 22,000 men.

"The base of operations will then be changed to Gauley. To this place, by the Ohio and Kanawha rivers, abundant supplies for the army can be transported with the means now at hand and being prepared. Having thus destroyed the connection between Knoxville and the army in Eastern Virginia, and perhaps seized some rolling-stock, we can advance rapidly along the railroad towards Knoxville, turning the position at Cumberland gap. The forces now under Gen. Kelly, and the Virginia troops will be left, as we proceed, to guard the Baltimore and Ohio railroad and to protect the loyal inhabitants of the State from guerrillas."

This plan was approved by President Lincoln, but with the "view of the ultimate closing in of my (Gen. Fremont's) column towards Richmond rather than Knoxville."

Shenandoah mountain to the neighborhood of the Harrisonburg and Warm Springs turnpike. This road would afford an easy and direct means of communication with Banks at Harrisonburg, and Jackson feared a union of the two armies and a movement on Staunton, which might result in separating him from Edward Johnson and in the capture of that town. Jackson says: "At this time Brig.-Gen. Edward Johnson, with his troops, was near West View, west of Staunton, so that if the enemy was allowed to effect a junction it would probably be followed not only by the seizure of a point so important as Staunton, but must compel Gen. Johnson to abandon his position, and they might succeed in getting between us. To avoid these results I determined, if practicable, after strengthening my own division by a union with Johnson's, first to strike at Milroy, and then to concentrate the forces of Ewell, Johnson and my own against Banks. To carry out my design against Milroy, Gen. Ewell was directed to march his division to the position which I then occupied in Elk Run valley, with a view to holding Banks in check, whilst I pushed on with my division to Staunton."⁷

⁷ Jackson's report. On April 29, Jackson wrote to Gen. Lee as follows: "As I do not believe that Banks will advance on me in my present position, I am disposed, unless you send me large reinforcements, to adopt one of three plans, viz.: either to leave Gen. Ewell here to threaten Banks's rear in the event of his advancing on Staunton, and move with my command rapidly on the force in front of Gen. Edward Johnson; or else, co-operating with Gen. Ewell, to attack the enemy's detached force between New Market and the Shenandoah, and if successful in this, then to press forward and get in Banks's rear at New Market, and thus induce him to fall back. The third is, to pass down the Shenandoah to Sperryville, and thus threaten Winchester *via* Front Royal. I believe that this would cause the enemy to fall back. From Sperryville I could move either in the direction of Front Royal, or Warrenton, or, if my command should be opposed by too large a Federal force, it could turn off towards Culpeper Court House.

"To get in Banks's rear with my present force would be rather a dangerous undertaking, as I would have to cross the river and immediately cross the Massanutton mountains, during which the enemy would have decidedly the advantage of position. Of the three plans I give the preference to attacking the force west of Staunton, for if successful I would afterwards only have Banks to contend with, and in doing this would be reinforced by Gen. Edward Johnson, and by that time you might be able to give me reinforcements, which, united with the troops now under my control, would enable me to defeat Banks; and if he should be routed and his command destroyed, nearly all our forces here could, if necessary, cross the Blue Ridge to Warrenton, Fredericks-

Jackson's plans were matured, and the execution of them was begun at once upon the reception of the information that no other troops besides those of Ewell and Johnson could be placed at his disposal at present. This gave him about seventeen thousand (17,000) men, of which about six thousand (6,000) were at Swift Run gap, eight thousand (8,000), under Ewell, one day's march in his rear, east of the Blue Ridge, and three thousand (3,000) with Edward Johnson at West View, seven miles west of Staunton, and over forty miles from Swift Run gap. On the other hand, Banks was at Harrisonburg, twelve or fifteen miles in Jackson's front, with nineteen thousand (19,000) men.⁸ Milroy and Schenck, commanding Fremont's advance of six thousand (6,000) men, were in front of Edward Johnson, and Fremont was preparing to join them with a force sufficient to give him a movable column of fifteen thousand (15,000). McDowell having drawn away from the upper Rappahannock towards Fredericksburg, was out of the question. It was necessary to strike before Banks and Fremont could unite, and thus oppose Jackson with double numbers. Banks was nearest at hand, but his forces were concentrated, while Fremont's column was yet widely separated. A quick and well-concealed junction of his own division with Edward Johnson's forces might enable Jackson to fall upon Fremont's advance before the main body could join it.

The route for this movement was selected with reference to misleading the enemy, as well as with regard to security from attack. Gen. Jackson determined to march up the east side of the Shenandoah river to Port Republic, a distance of sixteen miles, and then to cross the Blue Ridge mountains, by way of Brown's gap, to Mechum's River station, on the Virginia Central Railroad. (Map No. I.) He designed to reach Staunton from this point

burg, or any other threatened point. I have written to Gen. Edward Johnson to know what force, in addition to his command, would be required for a successful blow in his vicinity. If I receive an answer justifying a move in that direction, I may leave here to-morrow *via* Port Republic." Gen. Lee replies, May 1: "I have carefully considered the three plans of operations proposed by you. I must leave the selection of the one to be adopted, to your judgment."

⁸ See Banks's return for May 1. There were about 8,000 men for duty in Banks's own division (including cavalry), and 11,000 in Shields's.

by railroad. The first part of his route would be protected by the Shenandoah river, and the crossing of the mountains would leave a doubt as to his destination, and suggest the notion that he was *en route* for Richmond. He was never in the habit of informing his subordinates, even those of the highest rank, of his plans, and his staff were more frequently ignorant of them than otherwise. On this occasion only one or two, whose duties made it necessary, knew the general's designs, so that friends as well as foes were mystified.

On the 29th of April, Ashby made demonstrations in force in the direction of Harrisonburg, and this was repeated on the 30th. On the latter day a scouting party was sent to the top of the Peaked mountain, the southwest end of the Massanutton mountains, to observe the enemy, who appeared to be quietly camped about Harrisonburg.⁹ In the afternoon of the 30th, Jackson left his camp, which was occupied in a few hours by Ewell's division, and began his march. The route to Port Republic was over an unpaved country road, which runs along the narrow plain that intervenes between the eastern bank of the Shenandoah and the foot of the Blue Ridge. The soil of this plain, formed by the washings from the sandstone foot-hills of the Blue Ridge, was in many places deep quicksands, and under the excessive rains of this season had become miry. The past ten days had been marked by very heavy rains, and the streams were everywhere swollen. The Confederates left their camp in the midst of a rain, and proceeded but a few miles.¹⁰ Next day (May 1) was wet, and the miry earth soon became, under the movement of artillery and wagons, a perfect quagmire. Men and horses floundered on through the mud, which was hourly becoming worse. Those who tried to find more solid paths through the fields sank deeper into the mire, and were glad to get back into the road. The utmost exertions were able to carry the army forward but five miles more this day. The troops bivouacked in

⁹ Capt. Hotchkiss, who had charge of this party, says that Ashby drove the enemy's pickets into Peale's, six miles from Harrisonburg.

¹⁰ Gen. Jackson made his headquarters on the 30th at Lewiston (Gen. Lewis's home), thirteen miles from Conrad's Store, but the troops only made five miles, and bivouacked along the roadside.

the woods along the road, while Gen. Jackson continued his headquarters at Gen. Lewis's.¹¹ The whole of this day was spent in helping the trains through the mud. Large details were made to mend the road and to keep it in a passable condition as train after train moved along. The general himself took part in the work. He urged on the laborers, encouraged the soldiers, and, having dismounted, assisted in carrying rails and stones. Next day (May 2) the same struggle with the mud continued, and by nightfall the army had passed Lewiston, and bivouacked, again in the rain, between that place and the foot of Brown's gap. The following day (May 3) the march was resumed by way of Brown's gap and Whitehall to Mechum's River station, on the Virginia Central railroad. On this morning the clouds broke away and the sun brought a glorious May day. The hard mountain road was an infinite relief after the toil of the past two days. With quick and cheerful step the army wound its way through the pass of the Blue Ridge, and poured down into the beautiful Piedmont country that rolls away from the eastern base of the mountains. Saturday night (May 3) found the advance of the Confederates pleasantly encamped on the hills and in the meadows about the railroad station. While struggling forward against the elements, Jackson had taken precaution to close his lines, so as to prevent the knowledge of his movements from reaching the enemy.

Next day, Sunday, May 4, the movement was continued, the artillery and trains taking the road to Staunton, and recrossing the mountains at Rockfish gap, while the troops were sent by railroad. Gen. Jackson reached Staunton on Sunday afternoon, and by the close of the next day all the troops and trains had arrived at the same point and were put into camp, the "Stonewall" brigade two miles east of the town, and the remainder of the division west of it, and between the town and Gen. Johnson's position at West View.¹² So secret had been kept his design that

¹¹ Afterwards the scene of the battle of Port Republic, June 9, 1862.

¹² West View is six or seven miles west of Staunton, on the Parkersburg turnpike, and four miles from Buffalo gap, a water-way in the Little North mountain, through which passes this turnpike, as well as the Chesapeake and Ohio railroad.

the people of Staunton were taken entirely by surprise, and when they had convinced themselves that Jackson was on the way to Richmond were astonished by his appearance in their midst. A day was spent in resting the troops, in making the arrangements for the march, and in getting information; and early on the morning of the 7th the army set out against the enemy. Gen. Edward Johnson's brigade, which had started the preceding afternoon,¹³ led the column, followed by Jackson's three brigades in inverse order, Taliaferro's (the Third) being next to Johnson, the Second, under Col. Campbell, coming next, and the First, or "Stonewall" brigade, under Brig.-Gen. C. S. Winder, bringing up the rear. "The corps of cadets of the Virginia Military Institute (where Jackson had formerly been a professor), under their superintendent, Gen. F. H. Smith, was also attached to the expedition. The spruce equipments and exact drill of these youths, as they stepped out full of enthusiasm to take their first actual look upon the horrid visage of war, under their renowned professor, formed a strong contrast with the war-worn and non-chalant veterans who composed the army."¹⁴

The army moved on the Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike. Eighteen miles west of Staunton this road crosses the Big Calf-Pasture river, and at the same point intersects the Warm Springs and Harrisonburg turnpike. Soon after passing this point the Confederate advance came up with the first outposts of Gen. Milroy. The Federal picket was dispersed and in part captured, and Gen. Johnson continued his march.

Meantime, Milroy had on this day learned for the first time from his scouts and spies that a junction had been made between the forces of Jackson and Johnson, and that they were advancing to attack him at McDowell. He says: "Having the day previous (May 6) sent out a large portion of the Third Virginia, Seventy-

¹³ Johnson, in the afternoon of Tuesday, May 6, marched through Buffalo gap and up the eastern slope of the Great North mountain, resting his advance in the notch known as Dry Branch gap, fifteen miles from Staunton. Here, between Crawford's mountain and Elliott's knob, he bivouacked part of his troops in line on the crest of the mountain. Milroy's advance was at the eastern base of the Shenandoah mountain, on the opposite side of the Big Calf-Pasture valley.

¹⁴ Dabney's Life of Jackson, p. 341.

fifth Ohio, and Thirty-second Ohio to¹⁵ Shaw's ridge, upon the Shenandoah mountain, for the purpose of protecting my foraging and reconnoitring parties, I immediately ordered my whole force to concentrate at McDowell, and, expecting reinforcements, prepared for defence there. In the afternoon of the 7th a large force of the rebels was discovered descending the west side of the Shenandoah mountain, along the Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike. I ordered a section of the Ninth Ohio battery (Capt. Hyman) on Shaw's ridge to shell them, and endeavor to retard their progress."¹⁶ The reinforcements he expected consisted of Schenck's brigade, then on the way from Franklin, and which, by a forced march, reached McDowell before midday on the 8th.¹⁷

In consequence of the withdrawal of Milroy's advance on the 7th, Gen. Johnson found only the hastily-evacuated camps of the Federals in his ascent of Shenandoah mountain. The greater part of the transportation of this Federal force was not with it at the time, and hence the troops abandoned their stores and camp equipage to the Confederates. Nor was Johnson's descent on the western side obstructed by Capt. Hyman's battery. The latter fired a few shots without effect and then withdrew. Johnson bivouacked for the night on Shaw's Fork,¹⁸ and the other Confederate brigades at different points in the rear. The mountains of this region afford good camping-grounds only at considerable intervals, and, as the army moved upon a single road, it was eight or ten miles between the front and rear.¹⁹ (Map No. I.)

"On Thursday morning (May 8) the march was resumed early, with Gen. Johnson's regiments still in advance, and the ascent of the Bull Pasture mountain was commenced. This ridge,

¹⁵ This should be "beyond," as Shaw's ridge is west of the Shenandoah mountain.

¹⁶ Milroy's report, "Rebellion Record," vol. v, p. 34.

¹⁷ Gen. Schenck says: "By leaving my baggage-train under a guard in my last camp on the road, fourteen miles from McDowell, I was able to push forward so as to make the whole distance, thirty-four miles, in twenty-three hours." As he reached McDowell at 10 A. M. on May 8, he must have left Franklin at 11 A. M. on the preceding day. (Schenck's report, "Rebellion Record," vol. v, p. 35.)

¹⁸ Twenty-nine miles from Staunton.

¹⁹ Jackson's headquarters were at Rogers's toll-gate, at the eastern foot of the Shenandoah mountain, twenty-three miles from Staunton.

unlike its neighbors, has a breadth of a couple of miles upon its top, which might be correctly termed a table-land, were it not occupied by clusters of precipitous hills which are themselves almost mountainous in their dimensions and ruggedness. The Parkersburg turnpike, proceeding westward, ascends to this table-land, passes across it, and descends to the Bull-Pasture river by a sinuous course along the ravines which seam the sides and top of the mountain alike, so that it is almost everywhere commanded, on one or both sides, by the steep and wooded banks of the valleys which it threads. On the right and left of the road the western portions of the rough plateau which has been described were occupied by pasture-lands, covered with the richest greensward, with here and there the prostrate trunk of a forest-tree long since girdled and killed. The chasm which separates the higher reaches of these lofty pastures is a mile in width, and far down in its bottom the turnpike descends toward the river, until it debouches, through a straight gorge of a few hundred yards in length, upon the bridge. Artillery planted upon a hillock beyond the river commanded this reach of the road with a murderous fire.

"Gens. Jackson and Johnson, having cautiously ascended the mountain, and driven away a picket of the enemy which quartered on its top, proceeded to the western ridge of the pasture-lands on the left of the road, and occupied the forenoon in examining the position of the enemy.²⁰

The open ground here is known as Sitlington's hill, and the high pasture-land on the opposite side of the turnpike, and in a northeasterly direction, is called Hull's hill. The open field on top of Sitlington's hill is a mile in length, while the foot of the hill is on all sides steep and heavily wooded. The Confederates reached the open top by way of a ravine which meets the turnpike about one and a half miles east of McDowell, at a point where the turnpike turns sharply to the north, to find its way around the base of the hill. This ravine is narrow and very steep, and, besides being wooded, is filled with boulders washed down from above. From the open field on top it was easy to look down upon the village of McDowell and the Federal camps in the valley of

²⁰ Dabney's *Life of Jackson*, p. 342.

the Bull-Pasture. The open ground on the top of Hull's hill was a mile away. It was occupied by Federal riflemen, but their fire was harmless at that distance. (Map No. IV.)

The small escort accompanying the Confederate generals in their reconnoissance having attracted his notice, Gen. Milroy sent out parties of skirmishers through the forest which covered the western side and base of Sitlington's hill, and also opened with a section of artillery from the farther side of the McDowell valley. The elevation was too great, however, for the guns to effect anything, and the escort kept the skirmishers at bay. The hill would have afforded the Confederates a plunging fire upon the Federal camps, but Jackson declined to order up artillery. Two reasons prevented him. The mode of access to the hill was so rugged and difficult as to forbid the use of horses, and the guns could only have been gotten up by hand with great exertion. In case of a successful advance by the enemy, there would have been no possibility of withdrawing them. Another and a controlling motive was found in his determination not to attack the enemy at once from the commanding position of Sitlington's hill, but merely to occupy him until a flanking column could find its way, by a considerable detour, to a point beyond McDowell, seize the turnpike between that village and Monterey, and thus block Milroy's direct line of retreat. The Confederate engineers had discovered that a route practicable for artillery passed to the right of Hull's hill, and, making a circuit, re-entered the turnpike five miles west of McDowell. Jackson decided to move a considerable force of artillery, with adequate infantry supports, by this road during the night, with the hope of crushing his foe when hemmed in on the morrow. Gen. Johnson's brigade, though out of sight, was close at hand, in case the enemy should make any effort in force to occupy Sitlington's hill, and Taliaferro's and Campbell's were within supporting distance, while the "Stonewall" brigade was ordered to encamp some distance in the rear.

While the Confederates were thus employed, Milroy had been reinforced by the arrival of Schenck's brigade, which, omitting "several companies then on detached and other duty, brought into the field an aggregate of only about thirteen hundred (1,300)

infantry, besides De Beck's battery of the First Ohio artillery, and about two hundred and fifty (250) cavalry."²¹ His skirmishers had reported that the Confederate force was increasing, and that there were indications of the planting of artillery on Sitlington's hill. In such an event the Federal position at McDowell was entirely untenable. Gen. Milroy, therefore, with the approval of Gen. Schenck, as senior, now commanded, moved forward with portions of his own brigade and one regiment of Schenck's brigade to seize the hill. Milroy's brigade consisted of the Twenty-fifth, Seventy-fifth, and Thirty-second Ohio, and Third Virginia regiments. Numerous detachments of these regiments were absent on other duty, and several companies were already engaged as skirmishers, and Gen. Milroy reports that the force he carried forward to this main attack, including the Eighty-second Ohio, of Schenck's brigade, was between two thousand two hundred (2,200) and two thousand three hundred (2,300) men. It was now after three o'clock in the afternoon. As soon as Jackson perceived the advance of the Federals in force, he ordered up four regiments of Johnson's brigade. The Fifty-second Virginia came first, and was placed on the left. It was deployed as skirmishers, and sent forward to engage the enemy. The Twelfth Georgia was posted in the centre of the Confederate position, on the crest of the hill, and the Forty-fourth Virginia on the right, near a ravine. The Fifty-eighth Virginia was sent to the left to support the Fifty-second. The Confederate line was a curve, with the convexity towards the enemy, so that the right of it was in a direction nearly perpendicular to the left. The advance of the Federals was protected for some distance by the convexity of the hill, and in part by the wood that covered its base and lower sides. As the Federals emerged from the wood and attained the face of the hill, they became engaged with the skirmishers of the Fifty-second Virginia, Col. M. G. Harman. It was the Twenty-fifth and Seventy-fifth Ohio, under Col. McLean, of the Seventy-fifth, that led the attack on the Confederate left. Resolutely climbing the hill, they pushed back the skirmish line opposed to them, until they came upon the Confederate line

²¹ Gen. Schenck's report.

of battle on the brow of the hill. Here the struggle became fierce and sanguinary. Meantime, Milroy had sent the Thirty-second and Eighty-second Ohio and Third Virginia (Federal) farther to his left, that they might attack the right of the Confederates, and, if possible, turn it. The two Ohio regiments pressed up the face of the hill, and vigorously attacked Johnson's right, while the Third Virginia (Federal) pushed along the turnpike and threatened to turn his flank. Anticipating the latter movement, Jackson had placed the Thirty-first Virginia to hold the turnpike in advance of the point at which the Confederates had diverged from it to ascend the hill. The attack which was made on Johnson's right, on the hill where only the Forty-fourth Virginia was posted, caused Jackson to withdraw the Thirty-first from the turnpike, and to send it and the Twenty-fifth Virginia to Gen. Johnson, who placed them in support of the Forty-fourth. The guarding of the turnpike was then committed to the Twenty-first Virginia (Col. Cunningham), of Campbell's brigade, which was directed to hold it at all hazards. But the Federals did not press in this direction, and Col. Cunningham was not seriously attacked. Gen. Milroy states that he ordered two twelve-pounders to be placed on the turnpike but did not get them into position "until after twilight." The attack upon the Confederate right was vigorous and well sustained, and now, by the junction of the two attacking Federal columns, the battle became general. Repeated efforts were made to carry the crest of the hill, but these were repulsed. The firing was incessant and at close quarters. The Confederates had the advantage of position, and in some parts the undulations of the ground gave them some cover; but, for the most part, their line showing plainly against the evening sky, afforded an excellent mark for the Federal soldiers. On the other hand, though the Federal troops had to push up the steep acclivity of the hill, they reaped the usual advantage in such cases, resulting from the high firing of the Confederates. The most advanced portion of the Confederate line was the centre, where, without any protection from the nature of the ground, the Twelfth Georgia regiment bore the brunt of numerous attacks and gallantly held its position. It was suffering heavily, but refused to yield, or even to take advantage of such cover as the place afforded.

Gen. Jackson says: "The engagement had now not only become general along the whole line, but so intense that I ordered Gen. Taliaferro to the support of Gen. Johnson.²² Accordingly, the Twenty-third and Thirty-seventh Virginia regiments were advanced to the centre of the line, which was then held by the Twelfth Georgia with heroic gallantry. . . . At this time the Federals were pressing forward on our right, with a view of flanking that position. This movement of the enemy was speedily detected, and met by Gen. Taliaferro's brigade and the Twelfth Georgia with great promptitude. Further to check it, portions of the Twenty-fifth and Thirty-first Virginia regiments were sent to occupy an elevated piece of woodland on our right and rear, so situated as to fully command the position of the enemy. The brigade commanded by Col. Campbell coming up about this time, was, together with the Tenth Virginia (the rear regiment of Taliaferro's brigade), ordered down the ridge into the woods, to guard against movements against our right flank, which they, in connection with the other force, effectually prevented. The battle lasted four hours,—from half-past four in the afternoon until half-past eight. Every attempt, by front or flank movement, to attain the crest of the hill, where our line was formed, was signally and effectually repulsed. Finally, after dark, their force ceased firing, and the enemy retreated. The enemy's artillery, posted on a hill in our front, was active in throwing shot and shell up, to the period when the infantry fight commenced; but, in consequence of the great angle of elevation at which they fired and our sheltered position, inflicted no loss upon our troops."²³ This artillery consisted of a section which had been firing all the day from the western side of the McDowell valley. There was also a gun in action from the Twelfth Ohio battery, which, Gen. Milroy says, "was placed in position on the mountain on the left of the turnpike (Hull's hill) with the greatest difficulty," whilst his troops were advancing against the Confederate right.

The Confederate forces actually in the battle consisted of Johnson's brigade (six regiments) and of Taliaferro's brigade

²² To Gen. Johnson had been intrusted the command of the troops engaged.

²³ Jackson's report of the battle of McDowell.

(three regiments) ; Col. Campbell's brigade arrived in time to be used in protecting the right flank, but was not engaged, and the "Stonewall" brigade was some miles in the rear. The nine regiments engaged numbered about four thousand five hundred (4,500) men, and Col. Campbell's brigade contained about fifteen hundred (1,500) more. The Federal strength, under Schenck and Milroy, was over six thousand (6,000) men,²⁴ but, according to the reports of those officers, not more than two thousand five hundred (2,500) of these were in the battle. The Confederate official report gives Jackson's loss as seventy-one killed and three hundred and ninety wounded,—total, four hundred and sixty-one (461). Among the Confederate killed was Col. Gibbons, of the Tenth Virginia, who fell while gallantly leading his regiment. Gen. Edward Johnson, who commanded the troops engaged, was seriously wounded in the foot, near the close of the fight. Col. M. G. Harman, of the Fifty-second Virginia, Col. Smith and Maj. Higginbotham, of the Twenty-fifth Virginia, and Maj. Campbell, of the Forty-second Virginia, were also wounded. Gen. Schenck reports twenty-eight killed, and two hundred and twenty-five wounded, and three missing,—total, two hundred and fifty-six (256), as the Federal loss.²⁵

²⁴ Fremont, in his official report, already quoted, says that Milroy and Schenck had together 6,500 men. His official return for May 10 gives as the present for duty, officers and men:

Under Milroy	3,694
Under Schenck	2,335
Total	6,029

On April 30 the return gives the strength of the two as 6,422.

²⁵ The troops actually engaged at McDowell, with the losses in detail, so far as the regimental reports give them, are as follows:

CONFEDERATE.

Edward Johnson's brigade:	Strength,	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total Loss.
Twenty-fifth Virginia.....		1			
Thirty-first Virginia.....					
Twelfth Georgia.....	540	40	140		180
Forty-fourth Virginia.....					
Fifty-second Virginia.....		6	47		53
Fifty-eighth Virginia.....					
Taliaferro's brigade:					
Tenth Virginia.....		1	20		21
Twenty-third Virginia.....		6	35		41
Thirty-seventh Virginia...		5	34		39

Though Gen. Milroy failed altogether to obtain possession of Sitlington's hill, or to effect any lodgment from which he might renew the attack on the morrow, he maintained the fight in the most spirited manner until dark, and in this way saved himself from disaster; for, under cover of the darkness and fog, he quietly withdrew from the field, unmolested by the Confederates, the country being too broken and difficult to admit of pursuit at night. McDowell was entirely untenable with the Confederates holding Sitlington's hill, and so Gen. Schenck, as soon as the Federal troops had been safely withdrawn from the battle-field, having lighted his camp-fires, evacuated the place, and fell back during the night in the direction of Franklin. He says: "The withdrawal was effected without the loss of a man, and without loss or destruction of any article of public property, except of some stores for which Gen. Milroy was entirely without the means of transportation."²⁶

Meanwhile, the Confederates, having collected the wounded and left a guard on the field, sought needed rest in their bivouac. This rest was short, for it was late in the night before all was quiet, and with the early morning the army was astir. At dawn Jackson was in the saddle, but when he had ascended again to

	Strength.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total loss.
Campbell's brigade:					
Forty-second Virginia.....			3		3
Forty-eighth Virginia.....			4		4
Twenty-first Virginia.....					
Irish battalion.....			1		1
Total strength, about 6,000. Total loss, 461.					

FEDERAL.

	Strength
Of Milroy's brigade, parts of the	
Twenty-fifth Ohio	469
Seventy-fifth Ohio	444
Thirty-second Ohio	416
Third Virginia	439
Of Schenck's brigade, part of the	
Eighty-second Ohio	500
Also, some of Second Virginia, as skirmishers.	
Part of Hyman's battery, and part of Johnson's (Twelfth Ohio) battery.	
Strength, about 2,500. Loss, 256.	

²⁶ Schenck's report. A considerable quantity of camp equipage was left, and many tents, the latter standing.

the battle-field, it was only to look down on the deserted camps and smouldering camp-fires of the foe. He occupied McDowell without delay, and, having provided for the captured stores, prepared to follow the retreating army.

The following was Jackson's laconic despatch announcing his victory to the adjutant-general:

"VALLEY DISTRICT, May 9, 1862.

"TO GEN. S. COOPER:

"God blessed our arms with victory at McDowell yesterday.

"T. J. JACKSON, Major-General."

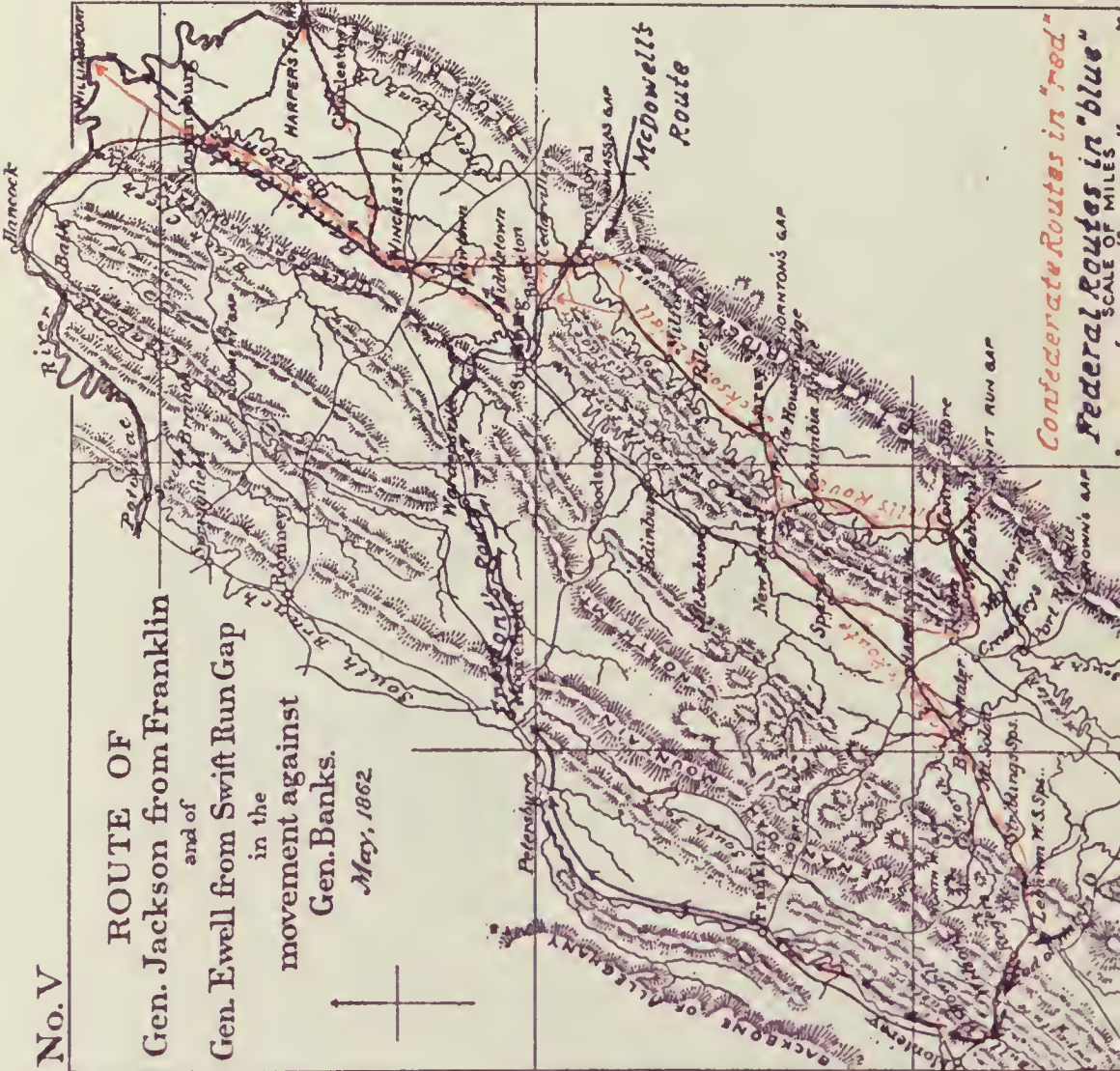
Gen. Schenck fell back by gradual stages to Franklin, taking advantage of the rugged country to hold the pursuers in check. On Friday (9th) he halted for some hours at the intersection of the Monterey and Franklin roads, but, before any considerable portion of Jackson's force was up, he moved on.²⁷ Next day the Confederates pursued closely, but were easily prevented in these mountains from doing any serious damage.

The plan of the Confederate leader was to beat the armies opposed to him in detail. The force under Gen. Schenck had been repulsed, but it was still formidable. If reinforced from Gen. Banks, the strengthened force might be able in this mountainous country to withstand him.²⁸ He therefore took steps to prevent reinforcements from being sent from Banks to Schenck, or a union of the two commands. For this purpose he sent a party of cavalry, under Capt. Hotchkiss, topographical engineer, to blockade the roads leading from the direction of McDowell and Franklin through North River and Dry River gaps. These roads lead to Harrisonburg, and at the points named pass through narrow defiles, where, by felling trees, they could be made impassable long enough to give time for the making of dispositions to defeat the movement. Another party was sent to do the same on the road leading through Brock's gap, directly west of Harrisonburg, and

²⁷ Jackson was compelled to spend some hours at McDowell, in order that his troops might be fed.

²⁸ He was not aware how large a portion of Banks's troops were about to go to reinforce Gen. McDowell at Fredericksburg.

ROUTE OF
Gen. Jackson from Franklin
and of
Gen. Ewell from Swift Run Gap
in the
movement against
Gen. Banks.
May, 1862



Confederate Routes in "red"
Federal Routes in "blue"
SCALE OF MILES

Battle of
MCDOWELL.
May 8,
1862.



Confederates in "red"
Federals in "blue"
SCALE OF MILES

the citizens were requested to aid by obstructing every available point.²⁹ These detachments having been sent off, the army continued its march in the wake of the retreating Federals.

On the succeeding day (11th), as Jackson again closed up to the rear of the Federal army, the latter adopted the expedient of setting fire to the forests along the road. "Soon the sky was overcast with volumes of smoke which almost hid the scene, and wrapped every distant object in a veil impenetrable to the eyes and the telescopes of the officers alike. Through this sultry fog the pursuing army felt its way very cautiously along, cannonaded by the enemy from every advantageous position, while it was protected from ambuscades only by detachments of skirmishers who scoured the burning woods on each side of the highway. As fast as these could scramble over the precipitous hills and the blazing thickets, the great column crept along the main road like a lazy serpent, the general often far in advance of its head, in his eagerness to overtake the foe. He declared that this smoke was the most adroit expedient to which a retreating army could resort to embarrass pursuit, and that it entailed upon him all the disadvantages of a night attack. By slow approaches and constant skirmishing the enemy were driven to the village of Franklin, when the double darkness of the night and the fog again arrested his progress."³⁰ Gen. Schenck says: "From McDowell I fell back by easy marches on the 9th, 10th, and 11th to this place (Franklin), the enemy cautiously pursuing. . . . While awaiting the arrival of the general commanding (Fremont), with reinforcements at this point, on the 11th, 12th, and 13th, the rebel army having advanced within two miles of our position, we were kept constantly engaged in watchful preparations for an expected attack."³¹

On Monday morning, May 12, Jackson, finding Schenck strongly posted, and knowing that affairs in the east would not

²⁹ The blockading of these roads was one of the causes which subsequently prevented Fremont from marching on Harrisonburg when ordered to go to the relief of Banks, and induced him to go by a circuit to Strasburg.

³⁰ Dabney's *Life of Jackson*, p. 351.

³¹ Schenck's report.

admit of his protracted stay in the mountains, determined to withdraw from the Federal front without further battle. He had found it impossible to do any considerable injury to an army retreating in such a country. Now the Federals were within reach of Fremont's main body, and having taken a stand at Franklin in a strong position, might either hold him in check until the reinforcements arrived or continue their retreat until a junction with Fremont was effected. Such a junction once made, the Confederate general might be forced to fight a superior force³² without the aid of Ewell's division, which had been left in Elk Run valley to watch Banks. Again, time was all-important. The enemy could make a campaign tedious. An emergency at Fredericksburg or Richmond might cause the recall of Ewell's division, which had been ordered to co-operate with Jackson for making some movement against Banks which would relieve Fredericksburg and prevent troops from that point or the Valley going to reinforce McClellan. He decided to unite his whole force without more delay and strike at Banks, who in the open country of the Valley could be more readily assailed. Milroy and Schenck had been driven away from the position that enabled them to threaten Staunton; had been pushed away, too, from Banks, so that there was no longer any danger of a junction of the two commands. Jackson believed that by a prompt movement against the latter officer, he might defeat him before Fremont would sufficiently recover from the disarrangement of his plans, produced by the defeat and retreat of Schenck, to interfere actively with the operations of the Confederates.

Having so decided, Jackson sent a courier to Gen. Ewell to announce his coming, and prepared for the return. He granted the soldiers the half of Monday (12th) as a season of rest, in lieu of the Sabbath which had been devoted to warfare, and issued the following order to them:

"SOLDIERS OF THE ARMY OF THE VALLEY AND NORTHWEST:

"I congratulate you on your recent victory at McDowell. I request you to unite with me this morning in thanksgiving to

³² Jackson had with him near 9,000 men; Fremont 15,000.

Almighty God for thus having crowned your arms with success, and in praying that he will continue to lead you on from victory to victory until our independence shall be established, and make us that people whose God is the Lord. The chaplains will hold Divine Service at 10 o'clock A. M. this day, in their respective regiments."³²

³³ Dabney's Life of Jackson, p. 353.

CHAPTER IV.

WINCHESTER.

In the afternoon of May 12 the Confederate army began to return, and on the evening of Wednesday, 14th, reached McDowell. On the latter day, Fremont arrived at Franklin with the troops he was bringing to the assistance of Schenck. Here he remained quietly for the following ten days repairing his losses, and, as Jackson had anticipated, made no attempt to interfere with his operations.¹ Jackson continued his march in the direction of Staunton. On the night of the 15th he camped at Lebanon Springs, where the road forks, the one branch leading to Staunton

¹ Fremont had been joined by Blenker's division at Petersburg, in Hardy county, May 11. Next day he set out for Franklin, which place he reached on the 14th. On the 16th, Secretary Stanton telegraphs to know if he still designs to move on the Virginia and Tennessee railroad, and how long it will take him to reach it. Fremont says he was then busy trying to equip his destitute men, and he did not move until the news of the overthrow of Banks was sent to him. Fremont seems to have been very largely occupied in "equipping his destitute men," and from his and Rosecrans's reports, this division of Blenker must have been the most improvident or unfortunate set of poor devils that ever took up arms. They were detached from McClellan about April 1, and ordered to Fremont. Their route lay through one of the finest countries in the world. They were probably never more than thirty miles from a railroad which put them within from two to five hours of Washington. They were not at any time within fifty miles of an enemy, and yet it took them until May 11 to reach their destination,—a distance not more than one hundred and sixty or one hundred and seventy miles. At one time they seem to have lost themselves, for Gen. Rosecrans was sent up by the Federal Secretary of War about the middle of April to hunt them up and lead them to Fremont. He says he went to Winchester *via* Harper's Ferry, "despatching messengers from two or three points in my route in search of Gen. Blenker's division;" found that a boat-load had drowned themselves in crossing the Shenandoah at Berry's ferry, and ordered the division to Snicker's ferry, where there was a "flying bridge." He says they were "unfed, unclothed, and unpaid, between 8,000 and 10,000 men, bare-footed," etc. He had them supplied, and finally delivered them to Gen. Fremont. The latter says that Blenker reported his effective force when they reached him at 8,000, but that "subsequent investigation placed the number of men and officers actually present and fit for duty at considerably below 7,000." They had left Alexandria 10,000 strong.

and the other to Harrisonburg. The next day was spent in camp, in deference to the proclamation of the Confederate President appointing May 16 as a day of fasting and prayer. On Saturday, 17th, the troops turned towards Harrisonburg, and moved on over roads made heavy by the rain of the preceding day. They camped for the night at Mossy creek and Bridgewater, and here they rested during Sunday, the 18th.

We must now glance at affairs in the Valley. During the nineteen days that had elapsed since Jackson left his camp at Elk run, important changes had taken place in the disposition of the Federal troops in Northern Virginia. President Lincoln, as heretofore stated, had given a reluctant assent to Gen. McClellan's plan of campaign, which involved the transfer of the main Federal army to the peninsula between the York and James rivers, and the movement by that route upon Richmond. To the apprehensions of the Federal President and his cabinet this movement seemed to uncover Washington. They feared an irruption of the Confederates, which might place the Federal capital in hostile hands before an adequate force could be recalled for its defence. Hence the most stringent orders were given McClellan to leave a force so disposed as to cover Washington, and amply sufficient to protect it in any emergency. The latter officer thought he had complied fully with this order when he left over sixty-three thousand (63,000) men and eighty-five (85) pieces of artillery in the various commands that were located in the Shenandoah valley, at Warrenton, at Manassas, and in and around Washington.² In addition to this force, ten thousand (10,000) men and twenty-four (24) guns, under Blenker, had been detached and ordered to Fremont, whose movable column was thus increased to twelve or fifteen thousand (12,000 or 15,000) men, even after deducting

² McClellan says, in his report, p. 546: "From the following letter to the adjutant-general, dated April 1, 1862, it will be seen that I left for the defence of the national capital and its approaches, when I sailed for the Peninsula, 73,456 men, with 109 pieces of light artillery, including the 32 pieces in Washington, alluded to, but not enumerated in my letter to the adjutant-general." (This includes Blenker's division, 10,028 strong, with 24 guns.) "It will also be seen that I recommended other available troops in New York (more than 4,000) to be at once ordered forward to reinforce them." (See p. 167, *ante*.)

Blenker's mass of stragglers. This aggregate of over seventy-five thousand (75,000) men was really equal to the entire Confederate strength available for offence in Virginia at this time. But with fears greatly aroused by Jackson's attack at Kernstown, and no doubt stimulated by want of confidence in Gen. McClellan, the Washington authorities deemed it inadequate, and so the Federal commander had hardly reached Fortress Monroe (April 2), to assume the personal direction of the operations there, before the President ordered (April 3) McDowell's corps to remain in front of Washington.³ On the 4th of April, Gen. McDowell was detached altogether from McClellan's command and placed in charge of the Department of the Rappahannock, and Gen. Banks was given independent command of the Department of the Shenandoah.⁴ To McDowell was assigned the duty of protecting the capital, by the following order:

"WAR DEPARTMENT, April 11, 1862.

"SIR:—For the present, and until further orders from this Department, you will consider the national capital as especially under your protection, and make no movement throwing your force out of position for the discharge of this primary duty.

"E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

"MAJ.-GEN. MCDOWELL."

McDowell at first moved out towards Catlett's station, rebuilding the Orange and Alexandria railroad, and pushed his advance in the direction of the Rappahannock and Culpeper. Subsequently he asked and obtained permission to move down to Fredericksburg, but was prohibited from crossing the river there, or making any advance beyond occupying the town with a small force. The early days of May found him opposite Fredericksburg, where he remained inactive for three weeks. When McDowell's corps had been detached from McClellan's army, one division (Franklin's) had been allowed to go to the Peninsula, and this deficiency was to be made up from the commands about

³ See page 167, *ante*.

⁴ See page 167, note.

Washington and in Northern Virginia. Thus a new division was organized under Gen. Ord, partly of troops drawn from Banks's and Abercrombie's⁵ commands, and partly of troops from Washington. This new division, added to those left with him (McCall's and King's), gave McDowell a force of thirty thousand (30,000) men.⁶ To increase his strength still farther, with reference to operations against Richmond, President Lincoln ordered Shields's division to be detached from Banks's corps and sent to McDowell.⁷

When Gen. Banks learned, on the 1st of May, that Ewell's division had entered the Valley, and that Jackson was moving, fearing an attack from their combined forces, he evacuated Harrisonburg and gradually withdrew to New Market, and thence, after the detachment of Shields's division, to Strasburg. He thus drew nearer to his base and the forces on which he might call for succor in case of need. Ashby followed the retreating army with his cavalry, and frequent skirmishes occurred between his forces and the Federal rear guard.

On the 7th of May an affair of outposts occurred between the Seventh Louisiana infantry and a part of the Sixth Virginia cavalry, of Ewell's division, and a company of Federal cavalry, supported by the Thirteenth Indiana regiment, at a little place called Summersville, on the eastern side of the main Shenandoah river, in the Luray valley. The Federal cavalry were partly surrounded, and compelled to swim the river for safety, while the infantry was driven from the field.⁸ A few days after, Shields's division left the Valley by way of Luray and Front Royal, and thence over the Blue Ridge towards Fredericksburg.⁹ This transfer deprived Banks of more than one-half his forces, for Shields took with him eleven thousand (11,000) men, and left about

⁵ Abercrombie was in command at Warrenton.

⁶ McDowell's "return" for May 17 (excluding Shields) shows his strength, officers and men present for duty, to have been 29,652.

⁷ See McDowell's testimony before the Committee on the Conduct of the War, Part I., 1863.

⁸ See report of Col. Foster, of Thirteenth Indiana, "Rebellion Record," vol. v. p. 27.

⁹ Shields left New Market May 12.

eight thousand (8000).¹⁰ Gen. Banks now retired from the upper Valley entirely, posting the main body of his forces at Strasburg¹¹ and sending Col. Kenly, with the First Maryland regiment and some cavalry and artillery,—in all about one thousand (1000) men,—to Front Royal (May 16) to protect the railroad and the bridges at that place over the north and south forks of the Shenandoah.

Thus it was that the middle of May found Fremont, who had hurried forward with Blenker's division to the assistance of Schenck, resting from the fatigues of the march at Franklin, while Shields was in full march to join McDowell at Fredericksburg, and Banks had assumed a strictly defensive attitude at Strasburg to hold the lower valley of the Shenandoah, and especially to cover the Baltimore and Ohio railroad.

McClellan's urgent and repeated calls for reinforcements, and earnest representations that the holding of such a mass of troops idle in front of Washington was endangering his success, had at last induced the Federal administration to agree to an advance on the part of McDowell from Fredericksburg. The quiet which had existed for some weeks in the Shenandoah valley and on the line of the Rappahannock, and the absence of Jackson in the mountains of Western Virginia, where he was still supposed to be, seem to have reassured the Federal cabinet.¹² On May 17 the following order was sent to McDowell:

"GENERAL:—Upon being joined by Shields's division you will move upon Richmond by the general route of the Richmond and Fredericksburg railroad, co-operating with the forces under Gen. McClellan, now threatening Richmond from the line of the Pamunkey and York rivers. While seeking to establish as soon

¹⁰ The returns of Gens. Williams and Hatch for May 1 show that Banks then had in these commands "present for duty" at Harrisonburg 6,032 infantry and artillery (under Williams), and about 2,000 cavalry (under Hatch). McDowell states that Shields's strength (effective) was at this time 11,000 men.

¹¹ Here he constructed earthworks, and prepared to hold his position.

¹² This confidence was no doubt increased by the falling back of the Confederate army from Yorktown on the 3d of May, the battle of Williamsburg on the 5th, and the subsequent advance of McClellan to the line of the Chickahominy.

as possible a communication between your left wing and the right wing of Gen. McClellan, you will hold yourself always in such a position as to cover the capital of the nation against a sudden dash by any large body of the rebel forces."¹³

The transfer of Shields's forces from Banks to McDowell at Fredericksburg, and the indications of an advance on Richmond from that direction, convinced the Confederate authorities that no time was to be lost in meeting this new danger. For weeks they had watched with anxiety the army gathering at Fredericksburg, as well as the movements of Gen. Banks. The forces of McDowell, moving down from the north on Richmond, cutting the railroads that united that city with the great Valley and Western Virginia, and joining the splendid army under McClellan, which was advancing from the east upon it, threatened the most serious consequences, and was to be prevented if possible. The burden of Gen. Lee's¹⁴ despatches to Gens. Jackson and Ewell for some time past had been to strike Banks, and thus prevent his reinforcing McDowell or McClellan, and possibly cause the recall of troops to his aid. If no chance offered for this, and he moved towards Fredericksburg, Ewell was to go to the assistance of the Confederate troops before that town. Thus, on May 8, while Jackson was fighting at McDowell, Gen. Lee writes Ewell that there is no necessity for his remaining at Swift Run gap if Banks is retreating, and if the latter is making towards Fredericksburg, Ewell is to try to strike him while *en route*. On the 12th, Gen. Lee approves of Ewell remaining at Swift Run gap "so long as the enemy remains stationary in the Valley, or while it is necessary to the movements of Gen. Jackson." On the 14th, Gen. Lee's assistant adjutant-general, Col. Taylor, writes to Jackson congratulating him on his victory (at McDowell), and says Lee is "of opinion that Banks

¹³ President Lincoln would not allow McDowell to join McClellan by way of the Peninsula, but adopted the middle course by ordering the former to advance on Richmond by way of the Fredericksburg and Richmond railroad. By this route McDowell would still be between Washington and the enemy, and it was thought could unite with McClellan's right wing in four days. (See McClellan's report, p. 565.)

¹⁴ Gen. Lee was acting as commander-in-chief under President Davis at this time.

cannot be as strong as he has been represented; if so, his course is inexplicable. He thinks that if you can form a junction with Gen. Ewell, that with your combined forces you would be able to drive Banks from the Valley." On the 14th, Gen. Lee was informed by Ewell of the movement of Shields's division towards Front Royal, and on the 16th writes to Jackson: "Whatever may be Banks's intention, it is very desirable to prevent him from going either to Fredericksburg or to the Peninsula, and also to destroy the Manassas road. A successful blow struck at him would delay, if it did not prevent, his moving to either place, and might also lead to the recall of the reinforcements sent to Fremont (Blenker's division) from Winchester, as reported by you. Gen. Ewell telegraphed yesterday that in pursuance of instructions from you he was moving down the Valley. . . . But you will not, in any demonstration you may make in that direction, lose sight of the fact that it may become necessary for you to come to the support of Gen. Johnston. . . . Whatever movement you make against Banks do it speedily, and if successful, drive him back towards the Potomac, and create the impression, as far as practicable, that you design threatening that line."

Gen. Ewell rode across the Valley to confer in person with Gen. Jackson. He reached Mount Solon, where Jackson was encamped, on Sunday morning, May 18, and these two officers decided upon the plan for a most energetic pursuit of Banks. It was agreed that one of Ewell's brigades (Taylor's Louisianians), which constituted, too, the bulk of his command, should march from Elk Run valley, by way of Keezletown, and unite with Jackson on the Valley turnpike at Sparta, a few miles south of New Market, while the remainder of his force followed the course of the south fork of the Shenandoah to Luray. Ewell returned on the afternoon of the 18th to direct the movement of his troops.¹⁵

¹⁵ Two days after, instructions received from Gen. J. E. Johnston seemed to Jackson to seriously restrict his operations. We find the following telegram in the Confederate archives, Washington:

"CAMP NEAR NEW MARKET, May 20,
"via STAUNTON, May 21.

"GEN. R. E. LEE:—I am of the opinion that an attempt should be made to defeat Banks, but under instructions just received from Gen.

That portion of the great Valley of Virginia, called the Valley of the Shenandoah, extends in a southwesterly direction from Harper's Ferry, where the Shenandoah empties into the Potomac, to the head-waters of the former, a distance of about one hundred and forty miles. It is bounded on the east by the Blue Ridge mountains, to the base of which finally gather all the waters of the Valley, and on the west by the North mountain and other ridges which run parallel to the principal range of the Alleghanies. The width varies from twelve to twenty-four miles. An important subdivision of this Valley exists for a part of its length. Near Front Royal, thirty-six airline miles from its mouth, the Shenandoah divides into two branches or "forks." A mountain chain called the Massanutton rises abruptly between these two branches, and runs in a direction parallel to the Blue Ridge for fifty miles to the southwest, when it sinks, as suddenly, into the general level at a point a few miles east of Harrisonburg. This chain, being much nearer to the Blue Ridge than to the North mountain, divides the Valley very unequally. The western side, or main Valley, is known as the "Valley" simply, while the narrow portion, between the Massanuttons and the Blue Ridge, is called the Page¹⁶ or Luray valley. The north fork, which is the smaller branch of the Shenandoah, rising in the North mountain, west of Harrisonburg, drains the main Valley between the North and Massanutton ranges. It runs for some distance on the northwestern side, but at Mount Jackson crosses to the base of the Massanutton mountains, which it follows with a tortuous course to Strasburg, where it finds its way around the north end of that chain, and finally joins the south fork near Front Royal. The south fork, which is the principal river, waters

Johnston I do not feel at liberty to make an attack. Please answer by telegraph at once. "T. J. JACKSON."

The reply to this, and the letter of Gen. Johnston giving the instructions, have not been found. Gen. Johnston (p. 129 of his Narrative) says his instructions to Gen. Jackson "were to advance and attack unless he found the enemy too strongly intrenched." It was perhaps some emphasis on the last clause that made the instructions appear to Jackson to hamper him.

¹⁶ "Page" is the name of the county comprising the greater part of this valley, and Luray is the county-seat of Page.

the narrow Luray valley. Ascending this stream beyond the south end of the Massanutton mountains, we find that it again branches at and near Port Republic. Three streams—the North, Middle, and South *rivers*—constitute the head-waters of the principal fork of the Shenandoah, and, spreading over the whole width of the Valley from the Blue Ridge to the North mountain, drain the upper part of Rockingham and nearly the whole of Augusta county. The two first named unite three or four miles southwest of Port Republic, and the South river, having found its way along the base of the Blue Ridge, joins the others at that village.

The principal means of communication between Staunton and Winchester was, then, the Valley turnpike, an excellent macadamized road, which passes through Harrisonburg, New Market, Mount Jackson, and Strasburg. Leaving Staunton, it crosses, by wooden bridges, the Middle and North *rivers* before reaching Harrisonburg, and the north *fork* of the Shenandoah at Mount Jackson. Common dirt roads run parallel to it for the greater part of its length. From New Market a turnpike leads at right angles over the Massanutton mountains, crosses the south or main *fork* of the Shenandoah at White-House bridge, passes Luray, and crosses the Blue Ridge by Thornton's gap, to Sperryville and Culpeper. An unpaved road runs down the Luray valley from Port Republic to Front Royal, and from the latter point a good turnpike leads to Winchester, and ungraded country roads to Strasburg, Middletown, and other places on the Valley turnpike. From Winchester excellent macadamized roads lead to Harper's Ferry, and through Martinsburg to Williamsport, on the Potomac. (Maps Nos. I. and VI.)

At Strasburg, going northward, just before the principal and Luray valleys unite, the principal valley contracts in width, in consequence of the approach of the North and Massanutton mountains. The latter is here three parallel ranges, containing between them two small valleys known as Powell's Big Fort valley and Powell's Little Fort valley. At this part of the principal valley the country is broken and cut up by deep ravines, and the heights around afford good defensive positions. Here it

was that Gen. Banks had taken position, his pickets being thrown out a few miles towards Woodstock. He deemed his force sufficient to resist any attack in front that was likely to be made, and, besides, believed Jackson to be fully occupied with Fremont, whose forces were now concentrated in the mountains about Franklin. He had sent Col. Kenly with about a thousand men to hold Front Royal, but this was not so much to guard against a flank attack as to protect the stores at that point, and the railroad and the bridges over the Shenandoah, from a dash of cavalry or the depredations of guerrillas. He saw no indications of a serious attack upon his position.

Jackson left Mossy creek on Monday morning, the 19th, and moved forward rapidly towards New Market. He reached this point next day, having been joined *en route* by Taylor's brigade of Ewell's division. Ashby had already occupied the Valley below this point upon the withdrawal of Shields and the retreat of Banks to Strasburg. Gen. Jackson says: "To conceal my movements as far as possible from the enemy, Brig.-Gen. Ashby, who had remained in front of Banks during the march against Milroy, was directed to continue to hold that position until the following day, when he was to join the main body, leaving, however, a covering force sufficient to prevent information of our movements crossing our lines." Having taken these steps to keep the enemy in ignorance, Jackson, on the 21st, turned off at New Market to the right, on the way to Luray. He crossed the Massanutton mountains, and the south fork of the Shenandoah at White-House bridge. Here he met Gen. Ewell with the other brigades of his division, which had marched down the Luray valley, and encamped at the eastern entrance of the New Market gap of the Massanuttons. (Map No. V.)

Ewell's division consisted of the brigades of Taylor (Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Louisiana regiments, and Wheat's battalion), Trimble (Twenty-first North Carolina, Twenty-first Georgia, Fifteenth Alabama, and Sixteenth Mississippi), and Elzey (Thirteenth Virginia and First Maryland),¹⁷ of Court-

¹⁷ On the 21st of May the First Maryland and Brockenbrough's battery were constituted the "Maryland Line," intended as the nucleus

enay's (six-gun) and Brockenbrough's (four-gun) batteries, and of the Second and Sixth Virginia cavalry, under Cols. Munford and Flournoy. This division numbered, including the cavalry, about eight thousand (8,000), and increased Jackson's effective force to some sixteen or seventeen thousand (16,000 or 17,000) men, with eleven batteries, containing forty-eight (48) guns.¹⁸

of a brigade to be commanded by Gen. George H. Steuart, who had been recently commissioned by the Confederate government to collect the Maryland troops into one body. Elzey was put in command of a brigade composed of the Thirteenth Virginia regiment and three of Gen. Edward Johnson's regiments (Twelfth Georgia and Thirty-first and Twenty-fifth Virginia regiments). The remaining three regiments of Johnson (Forty-fourth, Fifty-second, and Fifty-eighth Virginia) continued under command of Col. Scott, of the Forty-fourth Virginia, until early in June, when, on the retreat from Strasburg, they were united with the other troops under Steuart, and were commanded by him at Cross Keys.

¹⁸ I have been able to find no complete returns of Ewell's, Jackson's, or Johnson's forces for the period between March and July, 1862, in the Confederate archives; hence the Confederate strength has been deduced from various *data*.

I. Gen. Ewell writes to Gen. Lee, April 16 (see letter on file among Confederate archives): "This division numbered, on the 12th, 6500 men *aggregate*. Large accessions have been and are coming in, and the strength is now somewhat over 8000, exclusive of two regiments of cavalry, mounting over 500 men. I have 14 pieces of artillery."

In Gen. J. E. Johnston's return for February 28, Ewell's division (the Third) is given as: effective, 4918; total, 5251; aggregate, 5598.

"Effective" means all the privates and non-commissioned officers *present for duty*; "total," all the privates and non-commissioned officers *present*, including those sick, in arrest, and on extra duty; "aggregate," all the officers and men *present*. The difference between the "total" and the "aggregate" equals all the officers present, both for duty and sick, etc. The real strength for action is to be gotten by adding to the "effective" strength the officers "present for duty." The above return does not give this last, but it was of course less than 347 (the difference between "total" and "aggregate"). The difference between "effective" and "total" (equal 333 above) represents the men sick, on extra duty, or in arrest, and was equal to about six per cent. of the aggregate. Now deducting from Ewell's *aggregate* (8000) for April 16, six per cent. for sick, etc., we have, say 7500, for his effective strength, including all officers present at that time. Add the cavalry, and we get the 8000 estimated in the text. Between the 16th of April and the middle of May, Ewell lost Bowyer's battery, ordered elsewhere, and the Tenth Virginia regiment, transferred to Taliaferro's brigade, of Jackson's division; but I suppose these losses to have been made up by men joining. (This estimate of the strength of Ewell's division agrees with that furnished me by Maj. G. Campbell Brown, of Spring Hill, Tennessee, then assistant adjutant-general on Gen. Ewell's staff.)

II. Gen. Edward Johnson's return for February, 1862, shows his officers and men then present for duty to have been 2418, and a letter of his, dated March 18, reports his "present for duty" at that time as 2425.

On Thursday, the 22d, the Confederates moved quietly down the Luray valley in the direction of Front Royal, and Ewell's division, which was in advance, bivouacked at night ten miles from the latter place. Next morning Jackson made his dispositions to attack and capture the force stationed at Front Royal. In order to get as close as possible without being discovered, he diverted the head of his column from the main road¹⁹ to the right until it reached the Gooney Manor road, at Mrs. King's, by which he approached the town from the south instead of the southwest, and was in a better position to prevent the enemy's retreat by way of Manassas gap. At the same time the cavalry under Ashby and Flournoy, leaving the main column at Spangler's cross-roads, were sent across the south fork of the Shenandoah, at McCoy's ford, to destroy railroad and telegraphic communication between Front Royal and Strasburg, and to prevent reinforcements being sent from the latter place. This done, Flournoy, with the Second and Sixth regiments of Virginia cavalry, was to move down be-

In a letter of Gen. Lee to Jackson, April 29, he speaks of Gen. Edward Johnson as having a "present force of upwards of 3500," and Col. A. Smead, assistant adjutant-general to Gen. Johnson, says that the latter had an effective strength of 3000 at McDowell. Deducting the losses at that battle, the total strength of his brigade may have been about 3000 at the middle of May.

III. Jackson's division consisted of three brigades, containing eleven and a half regiments of infantry, five batteries of artillery, and Ashby's cavalry. Five of these regiments were in the "Stonewall" (Winder's) brigade. The strength of this brigade at Winchester, on May 25th, was 1529, rank and file, and adding in officers, it could not have exceeded 1700 in all, or an average of 340 per regiment. Col. Campbell's brigade of three and a half regiments in the same division numbered, officers and men present for duty, April 1, 1861, an average strength of nearly 400 per regiment. Taking the larger average, the division may have contained say 4600 infantry, and adding from 300 to 400 for artillery, and say 700 for cavalry (Ashby had twenty-three companies), Jackson's division, including his cavalry, must have numbered about 5500 or 6000. The sum of his forces then did not exceed 17,000 men. Dr. Dabney (then adjutant-general to Gen. Jackson) puts his force at 16,000 men, and so does Gen. Banks, in a telegram to his government dated May 21. (See below.)

¹⁹ At Asbury Chapel, four and one-half miles from Front Royal. At this point the main road approaches the river and runs along under the river bluffs for some three miles. At the Front Royal end of this defile, and about a mile from the town, was stationed the principal Federal picket.

tween the rivers to take the enemy in flank and rear if they should retreat towards Winchester or Strasburg.²⁰

The First Maryland regiment, Col. Bradley T. Johnson, and Wheat's Louisiana battalion of five companies, were thrown forward as the advance of the infantry, and they were supported by the remainder of Taylor's brigade. No opposition was met with, and no pickets found, until about 2 P. M., when the Confederates, under Johnson and Wheat, had reached the immediate vicinity of the town. Here, about one and a half miles from the village, Col.

²⁰ Banks telegraphed his government, May 21: "My force at Strasburg is 4476 infantry (two brigades), 2600 cavalry, 10 Parrott guns, and 6 smooth-bore. On the Manassas railroad, between Strasburg and Manassas, 2500 infantry, 6 companies of cavalry, and 6 guns. There are five companies cavalry of First Maine near Strasburg, belonging to Col. Miles's command. Jackson is within eight miles of Harrisonburg. He and Ewell have 16,000 men together." (Federal official telegrams.)

The Federal troops concerned in Banks's operations were distributed as follows, May 23:

At Strasburg:

2 brigades of infantry	4,476
Hatch's and Broadhead's cavalry.....	2,600
5 companies First Maine cavalry.....	300 ¹
3 companies artillery, 16 guns.....	280 ²

At bridge near Strasburg:

1 company of Second Massachusetts regiment.	60 ³
---	-----------------

At Buckton:

1 company of Twenty-seventh Indiana and 1 company Third Wisconsin	100 ⁴
--	------------------

At Front Royal:

9 companies First Maryland infantry	} 900 ⁵
2 companies Twenty-ninth Pennsylvania	
Mapes's pioneers (56 men)	
2 guns Knapp's battery (38 men)	

At Linden Station:

1 company of First Maryland infantry.....	80
---	----

At Winchester:

Tenth Maine infantry	856 ⁶
5 companies Maryland cavalry (estimated)...	300
5 companies Eighth New York cavalry (esti- mated)	300 ⁷

10,252

The troops at Winchester and the First Maine cavalry belonged to Col. Miles's command. Col. Miles was at Harper's Ferry.

¹ Estimated.

³ Estimated from Gen. Gordon's report.

⁵ Camper and Kirkley.

⁶ Tals regiment lost 83 on the 25th, and had 773 at Williamsport on May 31.

⁷ Arrived at Winchester on May 24.

² Banks's return, May 1.

⁴ Estimated from Gen. Gordon's report.

Kenly's infantry pickets were placed. They were driven in and rapidly followed up. Two companies of Kenly's regiment were supporting the pickets, and one company occupied the town. Another company was on detached service, guarding the Manassas railroad at Linden station, some distance off. The remaining six were in camp on a hill on the Front Royal side of the river, near the bridge. Col. Kenly had also a section of Knapp's battery,—two ten-pounder Parrotts,—in camp, while two companies of the Twenty-ninth Pennsylvania infantry were stationed between the rivers to protect the railroad bridges. The two companies supporting the picket and the one in the town were soon driven back, and a charge by the Confederates sent them through the town in haste to join their main body. This they did, with the loss of eighteen or twenty killed, wounded and captured.

Col. Kenly quickly posted his guns and the main body of his regiment on a "commanding height"²¹ to the right of the turnpike which leads from Front Royal to Winchester, and near his camp, and disposed a portion of his force to protect his flanks. During the continuance of the fight at this point he was joined by two companies of the Fifth New York cavalry, which had just arrived from Strasburg. Here he made a spirited resistance for a time. His artillery was well served, and his infantry kept up a steady fire. The Confederates had in the advance no rifled artillery, and it was some time before an effective fire could be made upon the Federal position. At length Col. Crutchfield, chief of artillery for Jackson, got three guns—one of them rifled—into position, and replied to the Federal battery. But the Confederate infantry had not waited for this. The Sixth Louisiana was sent to the Confederate left, through some woods, to flank the enemy's battery, while Maj. Wheat and Col. Johnson (the latter's troops all excitement when they found their opponents to be from the same State) pressed forward in front with the greatest ardor. Meantime, Col. Flournoy, with his cavalry, was moving down between the rivers, and threatening the Federal rear. Col. Kenly,

²¹ Jackson's report. This is a cherty ridge, some one hundred and fifty feet above the river, that extends to the northeast of the turnpike. It lies between the south fork of the Shenandoah and Happy creek.

seeing himself about to be surrounded, did not await the infantry attacks in front, but retreated rapidly across the two rivers, having set fire to his camp and attempted to burn the bridges. Though he failed in this last attempt, he succeeded in doing sufficient damage to the bridge over the North Fork to impede the Confederates. The Federal commander made a further attempt to check his pursuers on the hill—known as Guard hill—overlooking the North Fork, but a few shells from Lusk's battery, and the approach of the forces in pursuit, caused him speedily to retreat.²² Leaving the two New York cavalry companies to cover the rear, he hurried the artillery and infantry forward on the Winchester road. The damage to the bridge detained the Confederates for a little while, but Col. Flournoy at last succeeded in getting four companies of his cavalry regiment over, and Gen. Jackson, without waiting for more, dashed with this force up the turnpike after the retreating enemy. They were soon overtaken. Flournoy was at once ordered to charge the New York cavalry, which constituted the rear guard. These last make but a feeble resistance, are soon thrown into confusion and routed, and now demoralized, take to flight. Col. Kenly, learning that the cavalry are being hard pressed, has meantime halted his infantry and artillery, ordering the latter to hold the road, and forming his infantry in the fields on each side. But the Confederates, under Jackson's own guidance, and inspired by his enthusiasm, do not stop. Company B, Capt. Grimsby, charges directly up the turnpike, supported by Company E, Capt. Flournoy, on the left, and Companies A and K, Capts. Dulaney and Baxter, on the right. The Federal lines do not stand the charge. They are broken and thrown into confusion. Col. Kenly makes another gallant effort to stay the disaster. He reforms a portion of his command a little to the rear, in an orchard, on the east side of the turnpike, and makes a last desperate struggle to check defeat. But it is in vain. His troops are thoroughly demoralized by the events of the day. The cavalry is flying in confusion to the rear,—the artillery is trying

²² Mr. Kirkley says that "the river below was alive with (Confederate) horsemen crossing in two different places by fording." (History of First Maryland Infantry, Federal.)

to get away. The panic-stricken Federal soldiers magnify Col. Flournoy's four companies of cavalry into an army. The latter dash among them with the boldness of assured victory. Col. Kenly's personal efforts to restore order only result in his falling desperately wounded. The rout quickly becomes hopeless and complete. The Confederates ride around the broken infantry on every side. The mass, seeing no chance of escape, throw down their arms and surrender. By this time two more of Flournoy's companies (D and I) have reached the field, and they join in pursuit of the Federal cavalry, wagons, and artillery. One gun is overhauled near the field. The wagon-train soon falls into the hands of the victors. Scattered cavalymen are picked up along the road. The Confederates continue to chase the fugitives until within four miles of Winchester. There they find the other Parrott gun abandoned in the road, and two of the Confederates take some plough-horses from a field and bring it back with them.

The victory is complete. The Federal loss is thirty-two (32) killed, one hundred and twenty-two (122) wounded, and seven hundred and fifty (750) prisoners; total, nine hundred and four (904), by the report of the Federal surgeon-general. The historians of the First Maryland regiment²³ (Federal) make it nineteen (19) killed, sixty-three (63) wounded, and six hundred and ninety-one (691) prisoners; total, seven hundred and seventy-three (773). The Confederate loss is thirty-six (36) killed and wounded.²⁴ Gen. Banks reports Kenly's force present for duty as about nine hundred (900) men, though Capt. Smith and other officers present of the First Maryland regiment (Federal) put the force at one thousand and sixty-three (1,063).²⁵ Not over

²³ "Historical Record of First Maryland Regiment of Infantry," Camper and Kirkley. Some of the wounded are included also among the prisoners.

²⁴ Jackson's report.

²⁵ Company E, of Kenly's regiment, on guard duty at Linden station, was not present. Capt. Smith and other officers of the First Maryland regiment, who escaped, report officially on May 28 that the troops at Front Royal were as follows: nine companies First Maryland, containing 775 available rank and file; two companies Twentieth Pennsylvania, containing about 120 men; Mapes's pioneers, 40 men; the New York cavalry detachment, 90 men; artillery, 38 men; total, 1063. Of these, as above stated, but 8 officers and 120 men had reported up to the date of the report.

one hundred and thirty (130) have escaped under cover of the woods, for on the 28th, Capt. Smith reports but eight (8) officers and one hundred and twenty (120) men present. The scene of this engagement is near Cedarville, a small village about five miles from Front Royal, where an ungraded road leaves the Winchester turnpike and leads to Middletown on the Valley turnpike. (Map No. VI.) The credit of the final overthrow of Col. Kenly's command lies entirely with Flournoy's cavalry. The advance of the Confederate infantry and artillery, jaded by the day's long march, was not able to come up with the enemy until the fight was over, while the mass of the Confederate forces only reached Front Royal at nightfall.²⁶

"While these occurrences were in progress, Gen. Ashby, who, after crossing at McCoy's ford, had moved with his command farther to the west, so as to skirt the base of the Massanutton mountains, came suddenly upon the infantry guard, consisting of two companies (Davis's, of the Twenty-seventh Indiana, and Hubbard's, of the Third Wisconsin) that had been posted at and near Buckton for the protection of the railroad. This force, however, quickly threw themselves into the depot building, and Mr. Jenkins's house and stable, and from this cover maintained a very spirited contest with the Confederate cavalry, in which fell Capts. Sheets and Fletcher, two of the best of Ashby's officers. The Federals were finally overpowered and dispersed, and the railroad track was torn up.²⁷

²⁶ Dabney says: "At the time of the combat of Front Royal the duty of couriers was performed for Gen. Jackson by a detachment from one of Ashby's undisciplined companies, of whom many were raw youths just recruited, and never under fire. As soon as the first Federal picket was driven in, and free access to the village won, orders were despatched to the rear brigades to avoid the laborious and circuitous route taken by the advance, and to pursue the direct highway to the town, a level tract of three miles, in place of a precipitous one of seven or eight. The panic-struck boy, by whom the orders were sent, thought of nothing but to hide himself from the dreadful sound of the cannon, and was seen no more." As a consequence, the whole of Ewell's division followed the advance and made the long circuit, only reaching Cedarville at dark. Jackson's division, however, followed the main road, but, after a march of twenty-four miles from Luray, camped at Front Royal.

²⁷ See Gordon's "History of the Second Massachusetts Regiment," Third Paper, pp. 79-81.

"The result of this first day's operations was the capture of about seven hundred (700) prisoners, among them about twenty officers, a complete section of rifled artillery (ten pounder Parrotts), and a very large amount of quartermaster and commissary stores.²⁸ The fruits of the movement was not restricted to the stores and prisoners captured; the enemy's flank was turned, and the road opened to Winchester."²⁹

Jackson's movements took Gen. Banks, who was at Strasburg, entirely by surprise. The first information he received of the appearance of this strong force on his flank was from Col. Kenly, who, finding the telegraph cut, had sent a courier in the earlier stages of the fight, before he had fallen back over the Shenandoah, to report to Banks the overwhelming attack that was being made upon him.³⁰ Gen. Banks says: "Information

²⁸ The quartermaster and commissary supplies referred to (except the train of Kenly's command) were chiefly stored in the railroad depot and an adjoining store-house at Front Royal. They were so great in amount and value as to be estimated by the Confederate quartermasters as worth three hundred thousand dollars. They were only partially removed before the recapture of the town, a week later, by the advance of Gen. Shields's division, when the remainder were burned by the retiring Confederates. (See Maj. John A. Harman's official report. Maj. Harman was chief quartermaster for Gen. Jackson.)

²⁹ Jackson's report.

³⁰ The following account by Col. Kenly's courier is found in "Rebellion Record," vol. v., Incidents, p. 22:

WILLIAMSPORT, MD., May 26, 1862.

"DEAR FATHER AND MOTHER:—You have probably heard by this time of the three days' fighting from Strasburg and Front Royal to Martinsburg. Our company and Company B were ordered to Front Royal, in the mountains, twelve miles from Strasburg, last Friday, and when we got within two miles of our destination we heard cannonading. The major ordered the baggage to stop, and our two companies dashed on, and found several companies of our infantry and two pieces of artillery engaged with several thousand of the enemy. Just as we arrived on the field, Col. Parem, who had command of our forces, rode up to me and ordered me to take one man and the two fastest horses in our company, and ride for dear life to Gen. Banks's headquarters, in Strasburg, for reinforcements. The direct road to Strasburg was occupied by the enemy, so I was obliged to ride round by another, seventeen miles. I rode the seventeen miles in fifty-five minutes. Gen. Banks didn't seem to think it very serious, but ordered one regiment of infantry and two pieces of artillery off. I asked Gen. Banks for a fresh horse to rejoin my company, and he gave me the best horse that I ever rode, and I started back. I came out on the Front Royal turnpike, about two miles this side of where I left our men. Saw two men

was received on the evening of May 23 that the enemy in very large force had descended on the guard at Front Royal (Col. Kenly, First Maryland regiment, commanding), burning the bridges and driving our troops towards Strasburg with great loss. Owing to what was deemed an extravagant statement of the enemy's strength, these reports were received with some distrust; but a regiment of infantry, with a strong detachment of cavalry and a section of artillery, were immediately sent to reinforce Col. Kenly."³¹

The statement that a large force was at Front Royal evidently seemed incredible to the Federal commander, who took steps to reinforce Col. Kenly as if against a dash of cavalry or a raid of guerrillas.

Gen. Banks continues: "Later in the evening despatches from fugitives who had escaped to Winchester informed us that Col. Kenly's force had been destroyed, with but few exceptions, and the enemy, fifteen or twenty thousand (15,000 or 20,000) strong, were advancing by rapid marches on Winchester.

"Orders were immediately given to halt the reinforcements sent to Front Royal, which had moved by different routes, and detachments of troops under experienced officers were sent in every direction to explore the roads leading from Front Royal to Strasburg, Middletown, Newtown, and Winchester, and ascertain the force, position, and purpose of this sudden movement of the enemy. It was soon found that his pickets were in possession of every road, and rumors from every quarter represented him in movement in rear of his pickets in the direction of our camp.

standing in the road and their horses standing by the fence. I supposed they were our pickets. They didn't halt me, so I asked them if they were pickets. They said no. 'Who are you?' 'We are part of Gen. Jackson's staff.' I supposed they were only joking. . . . I left them and rode towards Front Royal, till I overtook a soldier and asked him what regiment he belonged to. He said he belonged to the Eighth Louisiana. . . . I turned back. . . . The officers in the road did not stop me, and I was lucky enough not to meet any of their pickets. . . . When I got out of the enemy's lines I rode as fast as the horse could carry me to Gen. Banks, and reported what I had seen and heard. He said I had saved the army, etc.

"CHARLES H. GREENLEAF,
"Company D, Fifth New York Cavalry."

³¹ Gen. Gordon says he was instructed to send the Third Wisconsin regiment and a section of his battery to Kenly's assistance.

"The extraordinary force of the enemy could not longer be doubted. It was apparent also that they had a more extended purpose than the capture of the brave little band at Front Royal.

"This purpose could be nothing less than the defeat of my own command or its possible capture, by occupying Winchester, and by this movement intercepting supplies and reinforcements, and cutting off all possibility of retreat. . . .

"Under this interpretation of the enemy's plans, our position demanded instant decision and action. Three courses were open to us: first, a retreat across Little North mountain to the Potomac river on the west; second, an attack on the enemy's flank on the Front Royal road; third, a rapid movement direct upon Winchester, with a view to anticipate his occupation of the town by seizing it ourselves, and thus placing my command in communication with its original base of operations, and in the line of reinforcements by Harper's Ferry and Martinsburg, and securing a safe retreat in case of disaster. To remain at Strasburg was to be surrounded; to move over the mountain was to abandon our train at the outset, and to subject my command to flank attacks without possibility of succor; and to attack, the enemy being in such overwhelming force, could only result in certain destruction. It was therefore determined to enter the lists with the enemy in a race or a battle, as he should choose, for the possession of Winchester, the key of the Valley, and for us the position of safety.

"At three o'clock A. M., the 24th day of May, the reinforcements—infantry, artillery, and cavalry—sent to Col. Kenly were recalled; the advance guard, Col. Donnelly's brigade, were ordered to return to Strasburg; several hundred disabled men, left in our charge by Shields's division, were put upon the march, and our wagon-train ordered forward to Winchester, under escort of cavalry and infantry. Gen. Hatch, with nearly our whole force of cavalry and six pieces of artillery, was charged with the protection of the rear of the column and the destruction of army stores for which transportation was not provided, with instructions to remain in front³² of the town as long as possible, and hold the enemy in check, our expectations of attack being in that direc-

³² That is, on the south or Staunton side.

tion. All these orders were executed with incredible alacrity, and soon after nine o'clock the column was on the march, Col. Donelly in front, Col. Gordon in the centre, and Gen. Hatch in the rear."³³

Thus Banks, having partly realized his danger, was taking steps to avert it. He did not yet realize, however, that Jackson's whole force was on his flank at Front Royal, but expected the principal attack to be made from the direction of Woodstock. Gen. Hatch, with a considerable cavalry force, was sent to reconnoitre in that direction, but, finding no enemy, he returned to follow the main column, which, meantime, had moved out from Strasburg towards Winchester.³⁴

Jackson's conception of the situation and his plan of operations for Saturday, May 24, are given in his report as follows:

³³ Bank's report, "Rebellion Record." Donelly and Gordon commanded the two infantry brigades, which, with Broadhead's First Michigan cavalry, constituted Williams's division. Hatch commanded all the cavalry except Broadhead's.

³⁴ Gen. Gordon (commanding one of the Federal brigades) criticises Bank's hesitation and delay with great severity. He says he twice urged Gen. Banks, early in the night of the 23d, to retreat to Winchester, but without effect. He left Banks to put his own brigade in readiness to move at a moment's notice, and continues: "It was eleven o'clock at night when I left him. As I returned through the town I could not perceive that anybody was troubled with anticipations for the morrow. The sutlers were driving sharp bargains with those who had escaped from, or were not amenable to, military discipline; the strolling players were moving crowds to noisy laughter in their canvas booth, through which the lights gleamed and the music sounded with startling shrillness. I thought, as I turned towards my camp, how unconscious all are of the drama Jackson is preparing for us, and what *merriment* the morning will reveal! As my troops were aroused from their slumbers, a low murmur ran through camp, followed by the louder noise of packing camp equipage and baggage, the harnessing of artillery horses, and hitching-up of trains. We were ready for action. But the night sped on; silence fell upon the town, and slumber was as deep that night in Strasburg as if without there was no cause for watchfulness. My brigade, however, found little comfort sitting around dismal camp-fires, reduced to expiring embers by the falling rain. Unsheltered and unprotected, in a damp clover-field, the morning dawned upon a cheerless group. Some unimportant steps had been taken for the security of the sick and for the safety of public property. I had ordered my brigade and regimental trains forward to Winchester, and they were saved. After three o'clock in the morning Banks had sent off some ambulances with sick and disabled, and this was all.

* * * * *

"After daylight of the 24th we remained inactive until between ten and eleven o'clock in the morning, at which time I received the following note from Gen. Banks:

"In the event of Banks leaving Strasburg, he might escape towards the Potomac; or if we moved directly to Winchester, he might move *via* Front Royal towards Washington city. In order to watch both directions, and at the same time advance upon him if he remained at Strasburg, I determined, with the main body of the army, to strike the Valley turnpike near Middletown, a village five miles north of Strasburg, and thirteen south of Winchester. Accordingly, the following morning, Gen. Ashby advanced from Cedarville towards Middletown, supported by skirmishers from Taylor's brigade, with Chew's battery and two Parrott guns from the Rockbridge artillery (Capt. Poague), followed by the whole command, except the troops left under command of Gen. Ewell near Cedarville. Gen. Ewell, with Trimble's brigade, the First Maryland regiment, and the batteries of Brockenbrough and Courtenay, had instructions to move towards Winchester. Ashby was directed to keep scouts on his left, to prevent Banks from passing unobserved to Front Royal. Brig.-Gen. George H. Steuart, who was now temporarily in command of the Second and Sixth Virginia cavalry, had been previously despatched to Newtown, a point farther north than Middletown, and eight miles from Winchester, with instructions to observe the movements of the enemy at that point. He there succeeded in capturing some prisoners, and several wagons and ambulances with arms and medical stores. He also advised me of movements which indicated that Banks was preparing to leave Strasburg."

" 'HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF SHENANDOAH.

" 'STRASBURG, VA., May 24, 1862.

" 'COL. GEO. H. GORDON, Commanding Brigade.

" 'SIR:—Our information this morning shows that the enemy returned to Front Royal last night, and will not, now at least, attempt our rear. Our force will remain in Strasburg, therefore, until further orders.

* * * * *

" 'Respectfully yours,

" 'N. P. BANKS,

" 'Major-General Commanding, etc.'"

Immediately after, however (says Gen. Gordon), information was received of the attack on the Federal train beyond Middletown, and orders were at once issued for the movement of all the Federal forces towards Winchester.

Jackson moved towards Middletown as fast as his troops, weary from severe marches, could go. The cavalry, under Steuart, was in advance, and struck the Valley turnpike near Newtown, while the main body was still some distance in the rear. They found the Federal wagon-train passing, and, dashing into it and up the road towards Middletown, with a few shots threw everything into confusion. A part of Broadhead's First Michigan cavalry, supported by the Twenty-ninth Pennsylvania regiment, had been reconnoitring from Middletown towards Front Royal, and having discovered Jackson's advance, was at this moment returning to the former place. The head of the main Federal infantry column (Donelly's brigade) had just crossed Cedar creek, and was also approaching the town. Information soon reached Gen. Banks "that the enemy had attacked the train, and was in full possession of the road at Middletown. This report was confirmed by the return of fugitives, refugees, and wagons, which came tumbling to the rear in fearful confusion.³⁵ The train was halted, and Donelly's infantry ordered to the front to clear the way, while orders were sent to Gen. Hatch to follow from Strasburg "with all his available cavalry, leaving Col. De Forrest to cover the rear and destroy stores not provided with transportation." At the same time a company of infantry was stationed at the Cedar creek bridge, to prepare it for the flames in case Banks should be forced to recross it and return to Strasburg.

Broadhead and Donelly hastened forward through Middletown, and speedily drove back the Confederate cavalry which had caused such a commotion. The Michigan cavalry went on to Newtown and held the road, while the Forty-sixth Pennsylvania infantry and a section of artillery pushed back the Confederate cavalry on the right of the turnpike for some distance. When this had been done, the Federals turned back to the main road, and their column resumed its march, after only an hour's loss of time. Col. Broadhead, with the First Michigan cavalry, was ordered "to advance, if possible, cut his way through, and occupy Winchester. It was the report of this energetic officer that gave

³⁵ Banks's report.

us the first assurance that our course was yet clear, and he was the first of our column to enter the town."³⁶ No time was lost by the Federal commander in hurrying forward his column. The knapsacks of the soldiers were left where they had been put, along the roadside, when Donelly's brigade had gone forward to clear the turnpike. There was no time to return or send for them. The Confederate cavalry, under Gen. Steuart, at Newtown, was not strong enough to impede the march seriously, so that the Federal advance reached Winchester without further molestation.

So rapid was his enemy's progress, that when Jackson reached the vicinity of Middletown, two or three hours afterwards, with his main body, the whole of the Federal infantry had already passed that point, and the cavalry, under Gen. Hatch, were beginning to go through. Driving back the cavalry guard sent to observe his movements,³⁷ by a few shots from Poague's battery, Jackson pressed eagerly forward. "When the little village of Middletown came in view, across the broad and level fields, the highway, passing through it at right angles to the direction of Gen. Jackson's approach, was seen, canopied with a vast cloud of gray dust, and crowded beneath, so far as the eye could reach, with a column of troops. At the sight the artillery dashed forward in a gallop for a rising ground, whence to tear their ranks with shell; Ashby swooped down on their right like an eagle, cut through their path, and arrested their escape on that side; while Gen. Taylor, throwing his front regiment into line, advanced at a double-quick to the centre of the village, his men cheering, and pouring a terrific volley into the confused mass which filled the street."³⁸

Gen. Jackson says: "The road was literally obstructed with

³⁶ Banks's report.

³⁷ Gen. Hatch had under his command this day the Fifth New York cavalry (Col. De Forrest), First Vermont (Col. Tompkins), five companies of the First Maine (Lieut.-Col. Douty), Hampton's battery, and a section of Best's battery. The half regiment of the First Maine and two companies of the First Vermont had accompanied the infantry column, and at Middletown were sent towards Front Royal to observe Jackson's advance. They were driven back to Middletown just as Hatch, at the head of the remainder of his force, was coming into it from Strasburg.

³⁸ Dabney, p. 371.

the mingled and confused mass of struggling and dying horses and riders. The Federal column was pierced, but what proportion of its strength had passed north towards Winchester I had then no means of knowing. Among the surviving cavalry the wildest confusion ensued, and they scattered in disorder in various directions, leaving, however, some two hundred prisoners with their equipment in our hands. A train of wagons was seen disappearing in the distance towards Winchester, and Ashby, with his cavalry, some artillery, and a supporting infantry force from Taylor's brigade, was sent in pursuit."³⁹

The Confederates had struck the head of Banks's cavalry under Hatch. When these last had recovered a little from the confusion and disorder into which they were thrown, Hatch, with the main body,⁴⁰ turned to his left and attempted, by a circuit through roads northwest of the turnpike and in its general direction, to rejoin the main body of the Federal army. So hurried was the march of the latter that for a time his efforts were unavailing. Several times he tried to regain the turnpike, hoping to find the rear of the Federal infantry, but was driven off. Finally, at Newtown, five miles north of Middletown, he came up with Gordon's brigade, which had there made a stand to check the pursuit and save the trains and artillery.

While Gen. Hatch with the advance of the Federal cavalry was making efforts to pass round the Confederates and rejoin Banks, the rear of his command was attempting to open the way along the turnpike. "But a few moments elapsed before the Federal artillery,⁴¹ which had been cut off with the rear of the column, opened upon us, with the evident intention to cut its way through to Winchester. Our batteries were soon placed in position to return the fire, and Gen. Taylor was ordered with his command to the attack. After a spirited resistance this fragment of the Federal army retreated to Strasburg."⁴² Gen. Banks says:

³⁹ Jackson's report.

⁴⁰ Maj. Collins with three companies, blinded by the dust, charged, unknowingly, into the Confederate lines, and his command was nearly all killed or captured.

⁴¹ This was Hampton's battery and a howitzer of Best's.

⁴² Jackson's report.

"Six companies of the Fifth New York, Col. De Forrest, and six companies of the First Vermont cavalry, Col. Tompkins, after repeated and desperate efforts to form a junction with the main body,—the road being now filled with (Confederate) infantry, artillery, and cavalry,—fell back to Strasburg, where they found the Zouaves d'Afrique."⁴³ The Fifth New York, failing to effect a junction at Winchester, and also at Martinsburg, came in at Clear Spring⁴⁴ with a train of thirty-two wagons and many stragglers. The First Vermont, Col. Tompkins, joined us at Winchester with six pieces of artillery, and participated in the fight of the next morning."⁴⁵ The latter body took a country road leading from Strasburg to Winchester, considerably west of the turnpike. The other, having followed the same road for a time, bore still more to the west, leaving Winchester and Martinsburg some distance to the right.

While Jackson was engaged in disposing of the Federal rear guard, Ashby had been sent forward, as above stated, towards Winchester. The main body of the Confederates had been halted at Middletown until the Confederate commander could ascertain whether or not the whole of Banks's infantry had passed him. The overthrow of the Federal cavalry soon satisfied him that the main body was already between him and Winchester, and without further delay Jackson, with the mass of his force, followed Ashby in that direction. In regard to this pursuit, Jackson says: "The large number of wagons loaded with stores and abandoned by the enemy between Middletown and Newtown plainly indicated his hurried retreat."⁴⁶ From the attack upon Front Royal up to the

⁴³ These had been stationed at Cedar Creek bridge early in the day.

⁴⁴ In Maryland, north of the Potomae.

⁴⁵ Bank's report. De Forrest was behind Tompkins, and found the way into Winehester blocked when he approached the town. He then made a circuit and attempted to enter it next morning by the Romney road, only to find Banks retreating and the Confederates in possession. He then marched in the direction of Haneock, and crossed the Potomae at Cherry Run ford.

⁴⁶ The road was lined with captured wagons from Cedar ereek to Newtown. Nearly all the transportation of Hatch's cavalry, besides a large number of other wagons, were captured at this time. (See Gen. Gordon's "History of Seecnd Massachusetts Regiment," Third Paner. He speaks of "six miles of wagons" as captured on this occasion.)

present moment every opposition had been borne down, and there was reason to believe if Banks reached Winchester it would be without a train, if not without an army; but in the midst of these hopes I was pained to see, as I am now to record, the fact that so many of Ashby's command, both cavalry and infantry, forgetful of their high trust as the advance of a pursuing army, deserted their colors and abandoned themselves to pillage to such an extent as to make it necessary for that gallant officer to discontinue further pursuit.⁴⁷ The artillery, which had pushed on with energy to the vicinity of Newtown, found itself, from this discreditable conduct, without a proper support from either infantry or cavalry. This relaxation of the pursuit was unfortunate, as the enemy was encouraged by it to bring up, about two hours later, four pieces of artillery, which were planted upon the northern skirt of Newtown, and opened upon our batteries. This fire was replied to by Capt. Poague's two rifled guns with skill and accuracy. When I overtook the advance it was thus held in check by the enemy's artillery."⁴⁸

Banks had hurried on to Newtown and beyond. Here the train was threatened by the cavalry under Gen. Steuart, which had been watching the passing army all day, and harassing it as opportunity offered on the march. Some confusion was produced by this force in the train following the Federal infantry, and the Twenty-seventh Indiana and a section of artillery were ordered to remain and do what was possible to protect the rear. This was sufficient for a time to check Steuart's cavalry, while Ashby's pursuit, as above stated, was not pressed with vigor. As the Confederates continued to push forward, this rear guard was strengthened, and a strong effort made to save the trains from further loss. The head of Gordon's brigade was already beyond Bartonsville, and only five miles from Winchester. Col. Gordon was ordered to take two regiments (Twenty-eighth New York and Second Massachusetts) and two sections of artillery, and return to Newtown, there to hold the Confederates in check. He coun-

⁴⁷ Among the abandoned wagons that lined the road were many loaded with sutler stores. These were especially attractive to the Confederate troops.

⁴⁸ Jackson's report.

termarched as rapidly as possible, and joined the regiment already there. He checked the confusion into which the rear was being thrown, and boldly drove the Confederate advance back through the town. Gen. Hatch soon joined him with the cavalry he had succeeded in bringing round the Confederate flank, and this united force prevented the farther advance of the Confederates, until Jackson's infantry had in part closed up. The display of increasing force, the advance of Ewell along the Front Royal road on his flank, as well as the information brought by Gen. Hatch of the dispersion of all the Federal troops in the rear, induced Col. Gordon to retreat at dusk. His skill and determination had effected the object in view. The trains and artillery that had passed Newtown were enabled to reach Winchester. A number of wagons, in the haste and confusion that existed before Gordon's stand, had been overturned, or had been left without horses in the road. These, including a pontoon-train, he fired. Leaving the Second Massachusetts (Lieut.-Col. Andrews) and a section of artillery to cover the rear, he retreated with great expedition to Winchester, which he reached at midnight.

It was now dark, but Jackson continued to press forward after the retreating enemy. His march was skilfully impeded by Lieut.-Col. Andrews, who, taking advantage of the darkness, contested stubbornly the Confederate advance at every favorable point. The ability and courage with which Col. Andrews managed his regiment (Second Massachusetts) on this night march were admirable. Jackson, with various regiments in turn of the "Stonewall" brigade, which was in front, drove back this rear guard from point to point; but all the impatient energy of the Confederate leader could not make his progress other than slow. Anxious to occupy the heights overlooking Winchester before dawn, he continued the pursuit all night. The troops in advance (Fifth Virginia regiment, Col. Baylor) were not allowed to lie down at all; to the others was given only an hour's rest.

Meantime, Gen. Ewell had advanced during the day with Trimble's brigade, the First Maryland regiment, and Brockenbrough's and Courtenay's batteries, on the direct road from Front Royal to Winchester. After halting, when eight miles from

Front Royal, for some hours, to await the results of Gen. Jackson's attack, he moved on late in the afternoon, when it became apparent that the enemy were retreating towards Winchester. As he approached the latter town he was joined by Steuart's cavalry from Newtown. When between two and three miles from Winchester, Col. Kirkland, with the Twenty-first North Carolina regiment, drove in the enemy's pickets. He held the position thus gained during the night. The remainder of this command "slept on their arms" one mile in the rear.⁴⁹

The results of the day's operations were altogether favorable to the Confederates. Forced to a precipitate evacuation of his position at Strasburg, the Federal commander had made a retreat of eighteen miles upon Winchester, so hurried, and marked by so considerable a loss of stores and wagons, as to give it the aspect of a flight. His cavalry had been attacked, and for the time dispersed, the fragments of it rejoining him at intervals afterwards. Many prisoners had been taken from him, and only the prompt haste of his movement, the fatigue of the march-worn Confederates, and the inefficiency of Ashby's command at a critical moment, had saved his whole army from a complete rout. At best, it was but a broken and dispirited force which rested at Winchester during the night, and prepared to resist the advance of the Confederates on the morrow.

The movement of Jackson had been so sudden and unexpected that Gen. Banks was slow in realizing the true state of the case. The latter says: "The strength and purpose of the enemy were to us unknown when we reached Winchester, except upon surmise and vague rumors from Front Royal. These rumors were strengthened by the vigor with which the enemy had pressed our main column, and defeated at every point the efforts of detachments to effect a junction with the main column. At Win-

⁴⁹ Gen. Ewell's report. Gen. Trimble informs the author that Ewell's division was ordered to halt at the point mentioned (near Nineveh) until Jackson, after having struck the enemy and discovered his intentions, should send orders for Ewell's further movements. These orders (to move on Winchester), Gen. Trimble says, were sent by Jackson early in the afternoon, but, in consequence of the courier's losing his way and not finding Gen. Ewell promptly, they did not reach the latter for several hours.

chester, however, all suspicion was relieved on that subject. All classes—secessionists, unionists, refugees, fugitives, and prisoners—agreed that the enemy's force at or near Winchester was overwhelming, ranging from twenty-five to thirty thousand. . . . I determined to test the substance and strength of the enemy by actual collision, and measures were promptly taken to prepare our troops to meet them."⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Bank's report, *Rebellion Record*," vol. v.

Gen. Banks states his force at Winchester as follows: "My own command consisted of two brigades of infantry of less than 4000 men, all told, with 900 cavalry, 10 Parrott guns, and one battery of six-pounders, smooth-bore cannon. To this should be added the Tenth Maine regiment of infantry and five companies of Maryland cavalry, stationed at Winchester, which were engaged in the action." To this should be added also five companies of the Eighth New York cavalry, which arrived in Winchester from Harper's Ferry on the evening of the 24th, and which were involved, if not in the action, at least in the rout of the next day. (See report of Lieut.-Col. Babbitt.) Banks's force at Winchester, from the above, must have been about 6400. Jackson's was about 15,000.

The organization of the Federals was as follows (the strength and losses being given in detail so far as they have been found):

WILLIAMS'S DIVISION.

Infantry.

	Strength.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total Loss.
Donelly's (First) brigade:					
Forty-sixth Pennsylvania	1700	3	47	251	301
Twenty-eighth New York					
Fifth Connecticut					
		(7)	(51)	Medical report.	
Gordon's (Third) brigade:					
Second Massachusetts	2102	7	28	133	168
Third Wisconsin					
Twenty-seventh Indiana					
Twenty-ninth Pennsylvania . . .					
Tenth Maine regiment	856		6	77	83

Cavalry.

Broadhead:

Part of First Michigan.....	}	..	10	10	34	54
Hatch:						
Part of First Vermont.....		900				
Part of Fifth New York.....						
5 companies First Maryland....	}	600	(Estimated).			
5 companies Eighth New York		..	2	0	24	26

Artillery.

Best's battery, 6 guns	250	(Estimated).
Cothran's battery, 6 "		
Hampton's battery, 4 "		

For this purpose Gordon's (Federal) brigade was stationed south of the town, on the Valley turnpike. The right of his com-

The Confederate organization was as follows:

JACKSON'S DIVISION.

Infantry.

	Strength.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total loss.
Winder's (First) brigade:					
Second Virginia	1529 (r. & f.)	4	14		18
Fourth "		1	3		4
Fifth "		1	3		4
Twenty-seventh Virginia.....		1	7		8
Thirty-third "					
Campbell's (Second) brigade:					
Twenty-first Virginia					
Forty-second "			3		3
Forty-eighth "		2	7		9
Irish battalion "			4		4
Taliaferro's (Third) brigade:					
Tenth Virginia		1	8		9
Twenty-third Virginia			7		7
Thirty-seventh "	300	1	19		20

EWELL'S DIVISION.

Taylor's brigade:					
Sixth Louisiana	15	90	(Whole brigade.)	105	
Seventh "					
Eighth "					
Ninth "					
Wheat's battalion					
Trimble's brigade:					
Twenty-first North Carolina.	22	65			87
Twenty-first Georgia	1	18			19
Fifteenth Alabama					
Sixteenth Mississippi					
Elzey's brigade:					
Thirteenth Virginia					
Thirty-first "					
Twenty-fifth "					
Twelfth Georgia					
Scott's brigade:					
Fifty-fourth Virginia					
Fifty-second "					
Fifty-eighth "					
Maryland line:					
First Maryland					

mand was posted on the ridge running southwest from the town and west of the turnpike, about half a mile from the suburbs.⁶¹ The left rested on the turnpike itself, to which the line was perpendicular. Pickets were thrown out on the hills that continue the ridge in front. The Second Massachusetts regiment was on Gordon's right, the Third Wisconsin on his left, near the turnpike, and the Twenty-seventh Indiana and Twenty-ninth Pennsylvania were in reserve, ready to take position wherever needed. Six guns, placed on the crest of the ridge, strengthened Gordon's right, beyond which, under cover of the hill, was Broadhead's cavalry. Near the turnpike, and constituting the centre of the line, were two guns, supported by Hatch's cavalry. On the left was Donnelly's brigade, extending across the Front Royal and Millwood roads, thus covering the approaches to the town from the southeast. Here, too, in commanding positions, were placed eight pieces of artillery. The two last-mentioned roads, as they approach Winchester, unite about a mile from the town. In front of this junction a short distance, on a ridge running in the direction of the Front Royal road, was Donnelly's crescent-shaped line.

Cavalry.

Under Geo. H. Steuart:

Munford's Second Virginia..
 Flournoy's Sixth " ..

Ashby's Seventh Virginia.....

Artillery.

			Strength.	Killed.	Wounded	Missing.	Total loss
Poague's	battery, 6 guns..	89	(r. & f.)	2	16		18
Carpenter's	" 4 " ..	52		1	5		6
Cutshaw's	" 4 " ..						
Wooding's	" 4 " ..						
Caskie's	" 4 " ..						
Raine's	" 4 " ..						
Rice's	" 4 " ..						
Lusk's	" 4 " ..						
Courtenay's	" 6 " ..						
Brockenbrough's	" 4 " ..		(with Maryland line.)				
Chew's	" 4 " ..		(with cavalry.)				

48

Total strength, about 15,000 or 16,000.

⁶¹ This is the same ridge which two miles farther to the southwest was the scene of the battle of Kernstown.

Here the battle opened. Gen. Ewell had bivouacked not far in front of the Federal line, and, moving his troops at dawn, he soon came up to the enemy, drove in his outposts, and attacked him. The Twenty-first North Carolina regiment, Col. Kirkland, was in advance, and at 5 A. M. boldly made a dash at the position held by Donelly across the road. The North Carolinians met with a bloody reception. The Federals, taking advantage of the stone fences with which that country is everywhere intersected, had posted their line behind some of these fences, and poured a well-directed front and flank fire into the Confederates as they advanced across the open field. In a few moments the Twenty-first North Carolina, having lost both the field officers present, and a large number of men killed and wounded, fell back.⁵² This check was, however, but brief in its duration. When Kirkland advanced in the centre, Col. Johnson, with the First Maryland regiment, moved forward on his left, nearer the Valley turnpike, and, meeting with little opposition, reached the suburbs of the town. On the right of the Twenty-first North Carolina, Col. Mercer, with the Twenty-first Georgia, advanced, turned the flank of the enemy on that side, and, by means of an enfilading fire, quickly drove them from the position unsuccessfully attacked by Col. Kirkland. Latimer (in command of Courtenay's guns) and Brockenbrough contributed to this result with their batteries. The Federals took a new position nearer the town. The remainder of Trimble's brigade (Sixteenth Mississippi and Fifteenth Alabama regiments) now joined the Twenty-first Georgia; but instead of attacking in front again, Gen. Ewell adopted the suggestion of Trimble, and moved farther to the right, so as to threaten the Federal flank and rear. This manœuvre, combined with Jackson's success on the other flank, caused the whole to give way.

⁵² Donelly's regiments were placed, the Twenty-eighth New York on the left, Fifth Connecticut in the centre, and Forty-sixth Pennsylvania on his right, the wings thrown forward crescent-like. As the Twenty-first North Carolina advanced against the centre,—not seeing the position of the Forty-sixth Pennsylvania in the mist,—they received a raking flank fire at close quarters from that regiment as well as the front fire from the Fifth Connecticut, to which was added as they retired that of the Twenty-eighth New York. The Twenty-first North Carolina lost 87 men killed and wounded. (See Donelly's and Trimble's reports.)

It is time to return to the main Confederate attack. All night had Jackson pressed forward at the head of the "Stonewall" brigade. Soon after dawn, as he approached Winchester, he saw the Federal skirmishers on a hill belonging to the ridge on his left, and ordered Gen. Winder to "seize the hill as speedily as possible. The Fifth Virginia regiment, Col. Baylor, was accordingly thrown out in advance as skirmishers, and the Second, Fourth, Twenty-seventh, and Thirty-third Virginia regiments being placed in order of battle, the whole line was ordered to advance, which was done in handsome style, and the position on the crest secured, although the enemy made a resolute but unsuccessful effort to dislodge our troops from so commanding a position. Two Parrott guns from the Rockbridge artillery, and the batteries of Carpenter and Cutshaw, were promptly posted on the height to dislodge a battery of the enemy, which was playing from the front with great animation and effect upon the hill."⁵³ The Second brigade, Col. Campbell, was sent to support the batteries, while Taliaferro's brigade, under Col. Fulkerson, was placed on the left in support of Winder, and to extend his line.

It was at this time that Gordon moved the Second Massachusetts farther up on the ridge, where he already had the six guns that had opened upon Winder when the latter was driving back the Federal outposts. As the regiment moved to the Federal right it had to bear a heavy fire from the Confederate batteries already in position, but the movement was completed in good order. Some of the Federal guns were now moved more to the right, and took a position which enabled them to enfilade the section of Poague's (Rockbridge) battery. A company of the Second Massachusetts was thrown out before these guns as sharpshooters, and, sheltering themselves behind a stone fence, they poured a destructive fire into the midst of Poague's horses and men. Turning his guns, Poague directs his fire upon these assailants; but the fire of artillery is not effective against sharpshooters. Another company of the Second Massachusetts reinforces the first behind the stone wall, and Poague sees his men and horses falling fast. Withdrawing and placing his guns to the left and

⁵³ Jackson's report.

rear, he opens vigorously from the new position upon the battery that has enfiladed and the sharpshooters that have so seriously annoyed him. At this point he is joined by the remaining four guns of his battery. He disconcerts the Federal sharpshooters by firing solid shot at the stone fence which protects them. Meantime, Cutshaw and Carpenter hold their positions to the right of Poague, and pour an effective artillery fire upon the enemy. The Federal commander now moves up the Twenty-seventh Indiana and Twenty-ninth Pennsylvania regiments from the turnpike, and places them on the right of the Second Massachusetts, with the design of holding the crest of the ridge, and, if possible, turning the Confederate left. Jackson, seeing this strengthening and extending of his enemy's right, orders up Taylor's Louisianians, who, passing behind Winder, form on his left and overlap the Federal flank. The Tenth and Twenty-third Virginia, of Taliaferro's brigade, extend Taylor's line, the former regiment on his left, and the other on his right. Regardless of the artillery fire and the musketry of the sharpshooters, this strong body formed in line, and, moving to the crest of the hill, "swept magnificently down the declivity and across the field, driving back the Federal troops and bearing down all opposition before it. In this gallant advance all the troops of Gen. Winder joined except those left as supports to the batteries."⁵⁴

Col. Gordon says of this charge of the Confederates: "They were received with a destructive fire of musketry poured in from all parts of my brigade that could reach them. Confident in their numbers, and relying upon large sustaining bodies, . . . the enemy's lines moved on but little shaken by our fire. At the same time in our front a long line of infantry showed themselves, rising the crest of the hills just beyond our position. My little brigade, numbering in all two thousand one hundred and two (2,102), in another moment would have been overwhelmed. On the right, left, and centre immensely superior columns were pressing; not another man was available,—not a support to be found in the remnant of the army corps left Gen. Banks. To withdraw was now possible; in another moment it would have been too late.

⁵⁴ Jackson's report.

At this moment I should have assumed the responsibility of requesting permission to withdraw, but the right fell back under great pressure, and compelled the line to yield."⁵⁵

Jackson now ordered Elzey's brigade forward on the Valley turnpike, while Taylor and Winder swept back the enemy rapidly over the hills into the town. It was at the time of Taylor's successful charge, between 8 and 9 A. M., that Ewell, having pushed back Donnelly on the Front Royal road into the suburbs of the town, was moving to the Confederate right and threatening the Federal rear. Ashby took possession of the Berryville road, which leaves Winchester on the east side, and thus cut off a retreat by that route to Harper's Ferry. Finding himself beaten on both flanks and his line of retreat endangered, Banks made no further attempt to hold the town or check the progress of the Confederates. Passing quickly through Winchester, and in such order as was possible, he fled northward with great haste by the Martinsburg road, leaving many prisoners in the hands of his antagonist.

Jackson followed through the town, and without delay continued the pursuit. He says: "Notwithstanding the fatiguing marches and almost sleepless night to which the mass of our troops had been subjected, they continued to press forward with alacrity. The Federal forces upon falling back into the town preserved their organization remarkably well. In passing through its streets they were thrown into confusion, and shortly after debouching upon the plain and turnpike to Martinsburg, and after being fired upon by our artillery, they presented the aspect of a mass of disordered fugitives. Never have I seen an opportunity when it was in the power of cavalry to reap a richer harvest of the fruits of victory. Hoping that the cavalry would soon come up, the artillery, followed by infantry, was pressed forward for about two hours for the purpose of preventing, by artillery fire, a reforming of the enemy; but as nothing was heard of the cavalry, and as but little or nothing could be accomplished without it in the exhausted condition of our infantry, between whom and the enemy the distance was continually increasing, I ordered a

⁵⁵ Gordon's report.

halt, and issued orders for going into camp and refreshing the men."⁵⁶

Two causes prevented an efficient pursuit by the Confederate cavalry. Ashby's command had become scattered in the pillage of the day before, and during the night march and fight of the morning he had had but little opportunity to collect them. With such as were at hand he had moved to the enemy's left to prevent a retreat by way of Berryville to Harper's Ferry, and with the hope of "cutting off a portion of his force." From this cause he only entered the Martinsburg road and joined the cavalry under Steuart some ten or twelve miles from Winchester, and after Banks had passed. Gen. George H. Steuart, of the Maryland line, now in command of the Second and Sixth Virginia cavalry regiments, was with Ewell during the morning, and when Lieut. Pendleton, of Jackson's staff, found him, with an urgent order to follow the enemy, he wasted valuable time on a point of military etiquette,⁵⁷ and consequently did not overtake the advance of the Confederate infantry until an hour after it had halted. Gen. Steuart then pushed on with vigor and picked up a good many prisoners, but the delay had enabled the Federal army to make such headway that it was "beyond the reach of successful pursuit."⁵⁸ Banks halted in his rapid course at Martinsburg for an hour or two, and then continued his retreat to Williamsport, which he reached at sundown. Here, during the night and next morning, he crossed to the north side of the river. The Federal army, after the defeat of the morning, thus marched the distance from Winchester to the Potomac (thirty-four miles) in one day. Steuart with his cavalry followed it to Martinsburg, where he captured a large amount of stores. "There is good reason for believing that, had the cavalry played its part in this pursuit as well as the four companies had done under Col. Flournoy two days before, in the pursuit from Front Royal, but a small portion of Banks's army would have made its escape to the Potomac."⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Jackson's report.

⁵⁷ He declined to obey the order until it came through Gen. Ewell.

⁵⁸ Jackson's report.

⁵⁹ Jackson's report.

But the victory was complete and glorious, even if Jackson's weary and march-worn command had not achieved all that their tireless and indomitable leader thought possible. In forty-eight hours the enemy had been driven between fifty and sixty miles from Front Royal and Strasburg to the Potomac, with the loss of more than one-third of his entire strength. His army had crossed the latter river a disorganized mass. Hundreds of wagons had been abandoned or burnt. Two pieces of artillery and an immense quantity of quartermaster, commissary, medical, and ordnance stores had fallen into the hands of the victor.⁶⁰ "Some two thousand three hundred (2,300) prisoners" were taken to the rear when Jackson fell back, besides seven hundred and fifty (750) wounded and sick paroled and left in the hospitals at Winchester and Strasburg, making a total of about three thousand and fifty (3,050).⁶¹ The Federal surgeons captured in attend-

⁶⁰ Gen. Jackson says in his report: "The public property captured in this expedition at Front Royal, Winchester, Martinsburg, and Charlestown was of great value, and so large in quantity that much of it had to be abandoned for want of necessary means of transportation. Maj. Harman, my chief quartermaster, had but one week within which to remove it; and, although his efforts were characterized by his usual energy, promptitude, and judgment, all the conveyances that within that short period could be hired or impressed were inadequate to the work. The medical stores, which filled one of the largest storehouses in Winchester, were fortunately saved. Most of the instruments and some of the medicines, urgently needed at that time by the command, were issued to the surgeons. The residue were sent to Charlottesville and turned over to a medical purveyor. Two large and well-furnished hospitals, capable of accommodating some 700 patients, were found in the town, and left undisturbed, with all their stores, for the use of the sick and wounded of the enemy.

"Commissary supplies, consisting of upwards of 100 head of cattle, 34,000 pounds of bacon, flour, salt, sugar, coffee, hard bread, and cheese, were turned over to the proper authorities, besides large amounts taken by the troops and not accounted for. Sutlers' stores valued at \$25,000, and for want of transportation abandoned to the troops, were captured. Quartermasters' stores to the value of \$125,185 were secured" (at Winchester), "besides an immense amount destroyed. Many horses were taken by the cavalry.

"Among the ordnance stores taken and removed in safety were 9,354 small arms, and 2 pieces of artillery and their caissons." A large amount of ammunition was also among the ordnance captures.

⁶¹ Jackson's report.

Gen. Banks's report of his losses is apt to mislead, and has done so, at least in the case of the Comte de Paris, the distinguished French historian of the war. Banks says (see his report, vol. v., "Rebellion Record"): "Our loss is stated in detail, with the names of the killed

ance at their hospitals were at first paroled, but next day, at the suggestion of Medical Director Hunter McGuire, of Jackson's

wounded, and missing, in the full report of Brig-Gen. A. S. Williams, commanding division, to which reference is made.

"The whole number of killed is 38; wounded, 155; missing, 711; total loss, 904.

"It is undoubtedly true that many of the missing will yet return, and the entire loss may be assumed as not exceeding 700. It is also probable that the number of killed and wounded may be larger than that above stated, but the aggregate loss will not be changed thereby. All our guns were saved.

"Our wagon-train consisted of nearly 500 wagons. Of this number, 55 were lost. They were not, with but few exceptions, abandoned to the enemy, but were burned upon the road. Nearly all of our supplies were thus saved. The stores at Front Royal, of which I had no knowledge until my visit to that post on the 21st instant, and those at Winchester, of which a considerable portion was destroyed by our troops, are not embraced in this statement."

In this statement Gen. Banks confines himself to the losses reported by Gen. Williams. Gen. Williams says that his report embraced a "complete list of killed, wounded, and missing of the troops under my (his) command, except that of the First Maryland (infantry), detached on duty at Front Royal." I could not find this list, but from subordinate reports it appears that the losses of his troops in *killed* and *wounded* were:

	Killed.	Wounded.		Killed.	Wounded.
Donnelly's brigade (official report) ..	3	47 (Med. report)	7	51	
Gordon's brigade (official report) ..		(Med. report)	25	71	
Broadhead's cavalry (official report)	10	10			
Artillery—no report found.					
The least sum of the above is			38	128	
Banks reports			38	155	

The troops just enumerated constituted Gen. Williams's command. That command did *not* include Hatch's cavalry brigade, nor the parts of the First Maryland cavalry and Eighth New York cavalry present, nor the Tenth Maine infantry. The last-named regiment lost in all 83 men, and the five companies of the First Maine cavalry lost 127. The other cavalry, under Hatch, no doubt lost in proportion. Again, Gen. Banks says there were nearly 1,000 sick and disabled soldiers of Shields's division left behind at Strasburg. Several hundreds of these were "put upon the march" towards Winchester early on the 24th. A number of them were captured. If the loss of prisoners at Front Royal (expressly omitted by Gen. Williams), and those of the troops not under Gen. Williams's command, and those of Gen. Shields's convalescents, were added to Gen. Banks's report, it would, no doubt, agree with Jackson's. In the same way, the artillery lost at Front Royal is not reported by Banks, and the wagons he reports as lost, and which, no doubt, represents the loss in Williams's division, constituted but a small part of those that actually fell into the hands of the victors. Hatch, for instance, according to Gen. G. H. Gordon, lost all his baggage. (See History Second Massachusetts, Third Paper, pp. 100, etc.)

staff, they were unconditionally released.⁶² Jackson's loss during the entire expedition was four hundred (400) men.⁶³

But the most important result of Jackson's victory did not consist in the overthrow of the small army under Gen. Banks and the capture of the large stores accumulated in the lower Valley. It disorganized the plan of campaign against Richmond, and, for a time, paralyzed McClellan's movements. President Lincoln had yielded, as heretofore stated, to Gen. McClellan's urgent appeal for reinforcements, so far as to order McDowell, on the 17th of May, to prepare to move down the Fredericksburg and Richmond railroad, in order to unite with the main Federal army in front of Richmond. Shields's division was sent from the Valley to swell his force to forty thousand (40,000) men for this purpose. On Friday, May 23, President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton went to Fredericksburg to confer with Gen. McDowell, found that Shields had already reached that point, and determined, after consultation, that the advance should begin on the following Monday, 26th of May. McClellan was informed of the contemplated movement, and instructed to assume command of McDowell's corps when it joined him.⁶⁴ This fine body of troops, moving from the north against the Confederate capital, would have seized all the roads entering the city from that direction, and would have increased McClellan's available force by forty or fifty per cent. There was strong reason to expect that this combined movement would effect the downfall of Richmond.

The Federal President returned to Washington on the night

⁶² For the terms of this parole, see Appendix to "Medical and Surgical History of the War," p. 118.

⁶³ Jackson's report. He reports his loss as 68 killed, 329 wounded, and 3 missing. This, probably, does not include Ashby's loss at Buckton, or the infantry loss at Front Royal. No report of Ashby's loss has been found. It may have been 20 or 30. The loss in the Louisiana troops at Front Royal was 10 (Gen. Taylor's report). That in the First Maryland not reported. It was slight, if any. Hence, possibly, about 40 should be added to the number in Gen. Jackson's report.

⁶⁴ President Lincoln telegraphed McClellan on May 24: "I left Gen. McDowell's camp at dark last evening. Shields's command is there, but it is so worn that he cannot move before Monday morning, the 26th. . . . McDowell and Shields both say they can and positively will move Monday morning. I wish you to move cautiously and safely. You will have command of McDowell after he joins you, precisely as you indicated in your long despatch to us of the 21st." (McClellan's report.)

of the 23d to await the result. He there received the first news of Jackson's operations at Front Royal on that same afternoon. The first despatches indicated only an unimportant raid, and McDowell was directed to leave his "least effective" brigade at Fredericksburg, in addition to the force agreed upon for the occupation of that town.⁶⁵ Later, on the 24th, the news from Banks became more alarming, and Gen. McDowell was telegraphed that "Gen. Fremont has been ordered by telegraph to move from Franklin on Harrisonburg, to relieve Gen. Banks and capture or destroy Jackson's and Ewell's forces. You are instructed, laying aside for the present the movement on Richmond, to put twenty thousand (20,000) men in motion at once for the Shenandoah, moving on the line, or in advance of the line of the Manassas Gap railroad. Your object will be to capture the forces of Jackson and Ewell, either in co-operation with Gen. Fremont, or, in case want of supplies or of transportation interferes with his movement, it is believed that the force with which you move will be sufficient to accomplish the object alone."⁶⁶ The following was sent to McClellan:

"WASHINGTON CITY, May 24, 1862,
"4 P. M.

"In consequence of Gen. Banks's critical position, I have been compelled to suspend Gen. McDowell's movement to join you. The enemy are making a desperate push on Harper's Ferry, and we are trying to throw Fremont's force and part of McDowell's in their rear.
"A. LINCOLN."

Next day the news from Banks seems to have greatly increased the excitement in Washington. The following telegrams were sent to Gen. McClellan:

⁶⁵ Secretary Stanton's despatch to McDowell is as follows: "In view of the operations of the enemy on the line of Gen. Banks, the President thinks the whole force you designed to move from Fredericksburg should not be taken away, and he therefore directs that one brigade, in addition to what you designed to leave at Fredericksburg, should be left there. This brigade to be the least effective of your command." (McDowell's testimony.)

⁶⁶ Report on Conduct of the War, Part I, p. 274. (McDowell's testimony.)

"U. S. MILITARY TELEGRAPH.

"WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C., May 25, 1862.

"The enemy is moving north in sufficient force to drive Banks before him, in precisely what force we cannot tell. He is also threatening Leesburg, and Geary⁶⁷ on the Manassas Gap railroad, from both north and south, in precisely what force we cannot tell.⁶⁸ I think the movement is a general and concerted one, such as could not be if he was acting upon the purpose of a very desperate defence of Richmond. I think the time is near when you must either attack Richmond or give up the job and come to the defence of Washington. Let me hear from you instantly.

"A. LINCOLN.

"GEN. McCLELLAN."

"U. S. MILITARY TELEGRAPH.

"WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C., May 25, 1862.

"Your despatch received. Banks was at Strasburg with about six thousand (6,000) men,⁶⁹ Shields having been taken from him to swell a column for McDowell to aid you at Rich-

⁶⁷ Gen. Geary commanded a force guarding this railroad. His strength present for duty May 17 was about 1900.

⁶⁸ There was no force after him except possibly some guerrillas. Tenney, in his "Military and Naval History of the Rebellion," p. 235, says: "When the news of the attack on the Maryland regiment at Front Royal on the 23d reached Gen. Geary, who, with his force, was charged with the protection of the Manassas Gap railroad, he immediately began to move to Manassas Junction. His troops hearing the most extravagant stories of the fate of the Maryland regiment, and supposing that they were about to be swallowed up, burnt their tents and destroyed a quantity of arms. Gen. Duryea, at Catlett's Station, became alarmed on learning of the withdrawal of Gen. Geary, took his three New York regiments, leaving the Pennsylvania one behind, and hastened back to Centreville, and telegraphed to Washington for help. He left a large quantity of army stores behind, and also, for two days, his camp equipage. A panic prevailed at Catlett's Station and Manassas Junction for two days. At night the camps were kept in constant alarm by the sentinels firing at stumps or bowing bushes, which they mistook for Confederate guerrillas. The alarm spread to Washington, and Secretary Stanton issued orders calling for the militia of the loyal States to defend that city."

It is hard to see how any "stories" as to the fate of the Maryland regiment could have been "extravagant." It was very nearly "swallowed up."

⁶⁹ See statement of Banks's forces, page 225.

mond, and the rest of his force scattered at various places. On the 23d a rebel force of seven to ten thousand (7,000 to 10,000) men fell upon one regiment and two companies, guarding the bridge at Front Royal, destroying it entirely, crossed the Shenandoah, and on the 24th (yesterday) pushed to get north of Banks on the road to Winchester. Banks ran a race with them, beating them into Winchester yesterday evening. This morning a battle ensued between the two forces, in which Banks was beaten back into full retreat towards Martinsburg, and probably is broken up into a total rout. Geary, on the Manassas gap railroad, just now reports that Jackson is now near Front Royal with ten thousand (10,000), following up and supporting, as I understand, the force now pursuing Banks; also that another force of ten thousand (10,000) is near Orleans, following on in the same direction.⁷⁰ Stripped bare, as we are here, it will be all we can do to prevent them crossing the Potomac at Harper's Ferry, or above. We have about twenty thousand (20,000) of McDowell's force moving back to the vicinity of Front Royal, and Fremont, who was at Franklin, is moving to Harrisonburg. Both of these movements are intended to get in the enemy's rear. One more of McDowell's brigades is ordered through here to Harper's Ferry. The rest of his forces remain for the present at Fredericksburg. We are sending such regiments and dribs from here and Baltimore as we can spare to Harper's Ferry, supplying their place in some sort by calling in militia from the adjacent States. We also have eighteen cannon on the road to Harper's Ferry, of which arm there is not a single one yet at that point. This is now our situation. If McDowell's force was now beyond our reach we should be utterly helpless. Apprehensions of something like this, and no unwillingness to sustain you, has always been my reason for withholding McDowell's forces from you. Please understand this, and do the best you can with the forces you have.

"A. LINCOLN."⁷¹

"GEN. McCLELLAN."

⁷⁰ These were of course entirely imaginary creations of Gen. Geary's informant, and show the consternation that Jackson's movement had inspired.

⁷¹ The government of the United States, on the same day, May 25, called for additional troops, and issued an order taking "military

The operations of Jackson thus not only occupied all the troops in and around Washington, together with Fremont's forces, but for the time completely neutralized the forty thousand men under McDowell, and disconcerted McClellan's plans. It is true that both McDowell and McClellan, deeming the fears of the Federal administration exaggerated, deprecated the interference

possession of all the railroads in the United States," for the transportation of troops and munitions of war.

"The news of Gen. Banks's defeat and the sudden call of the Secretary of War upon the State militia created the utmost excitement at the North, not only among the military themselves, but among the thousands connected with them." ("Rebellion Record," vol. v., Diary, p. 17.)

The following is Secretary Stanton's despatch, dated May 25, to the Governor of Massachusetts:

"Intelligence from various quarters leaves no doubt that the enemy in great force are marching on Washington. You will please organize and forward immediately all the militia and volunteer force in your State."

Tenney says: "This alarm at Washington, and the call for its defence, produced a most indescribable panic in the cities of the northern States on Sunday, the 25th, and two or three days afterwards. . . .

"Governor Curtin, of Pennsylvania, issued the following order May 26:

"On pressing requisition of the President of the United States in the present emergency, it is ordered that the several major-generals, brigadier-generals, and colonels of regiments throughout the Commonwealth muster, without delay, all military organizations within their respective divisions or under their control, together with all persons willing to join their commands, and proceed forthwith to the city of Washington, or such other points as may be indicated by future orders."

"The Governor of Massachusetts issued the following proclamation:

"'Men of Massachusetts! The wily and barbarous horde of traitors to the people, to the government, to our country, and to liberty, menace again the national capital. They have attacked and routed Maj.-Gen. Banks, are advancing on Harper's Ferry, and are marching on Washington. The President calls on Massachusetts to rise once more for its rescue and defence.

"'The whole active militia will be summoned by a general order, issued from the office of the adjutant-general, to report on Boston Common to-morrow; they will march to relieve and avenge their brethren and friends, and to oppose with fierce zeal and courageous patriotism the progress of the foe.

"'May God encourage their hearts and strengthen their arms, and may he inspire the government and all the people!

"'Given at headquarters, Boston, eleven o'clock, this (Sunday) evening, May 25, 1862.

"'JOHN A. ANDREW.'

"The Governor of Ohio began his proclamation as follows:

with McDowell's advance on Richmond, but in vain. McDowell says, May 24, in reply to the order sending half his corps after Jackson: "I beg to say that co-operation between Gen. Fremont and myself, to cut off Jackson and Ewell, is not to be counted upon, even if it is not a practical impossibility; next, that I am entirely beyond helping distance of Gen. Banks, and no celerity or vigor, will avail, so far as he is concerned; next, that by a glance at the map it will be seen that the line of retreat of the enemy's forces up the Valley is shorter than mine to go against him. It will take a week or ten days for the force to get to the valley by the route which will give it food and forage, and by that time the enemy will have retired."⁷² I shall gain nothing for you there, and shall lose much for you here. It is therefore not only on personal grounds that I have a heavy heart in the matter, but that I feel it throws us all back; and from Richmond north we shall have all our large masses paralyzed, and shall have to repeat what we have just accomplished."⁷³ McClellan says: "It will be remembered that the order for the co-operation of Gen. McDowell was simply suspended, not revoked, and therefore I was not at liberty to abandon the northern approach to Richmond."⁷⁴ This fact, together with the necessity of protecting his communications with the York river, caused him to retain a part of his army on the north side of the Chickahominy, while the remainder was separated from him by that troublesome stream,—a circumstance that contributed not a little to his subsequent defeat.

The Federal administration, however, adhered to its plans, and hastened McDowell's movement to the Valley. The moral

"To the Gallant Men of Ohio: I have the astounding intelligence that the seat of our beloved government is threatened with invasion, and am called upon by the Secretary of War for troops to repel and overwhelm the ruthless invaders." . . .

But enough of gubernatorial rhetoric. The effect of Jackson's movement was unmistakable. "Almost half a million of men offered themselves for the defence of Washington within twenty-four hours after the issue of the proclamation."

Tenney adds that this "panic" was "extremely disastrous to the Federal cause."

⁷² He little appreciated Jackson's boldness, who remained at Harper's Ferry until McDowell's advance had occupied Front Royal.

⁷³ McDowell's testimony.

⁷⁴ McClellan's report.

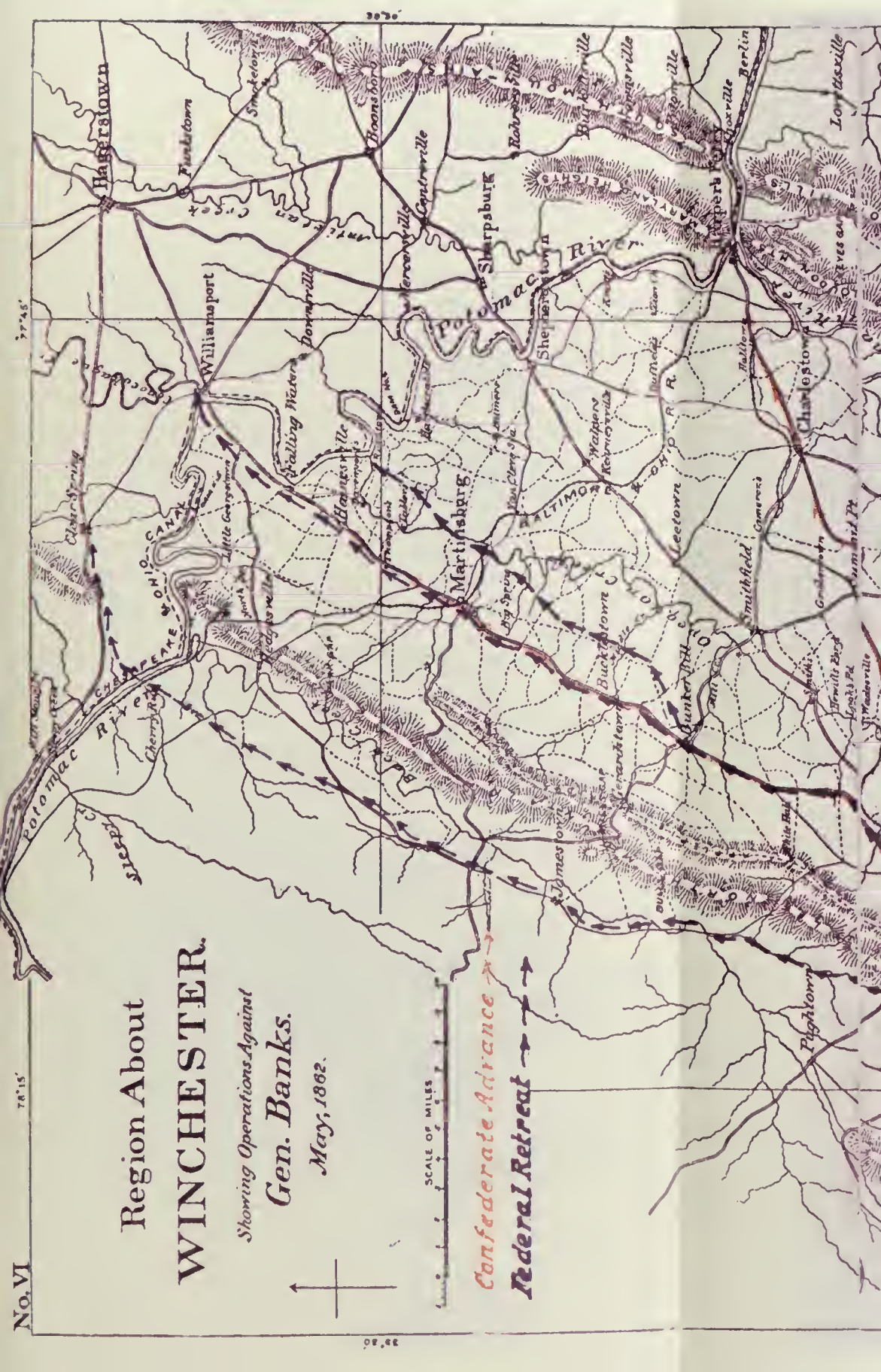
Region About WINCHESTER.

Showing Operations Against
Gen. Banks.
May, 1862.



SCALE OF MILES

Confederate Advance →
Federal Retreat →



effect of a Confederate advance to the neighborhood of Washington was dreaded, and still more, perhaps, the irruption of a victorious southern force into the State of Maryland. The mass of the people of this State sympathized with the South. They were kept down only by the presence of Federal troops. It was a matter of grave consequence that Jackson should not be able to maintain himself north of the Potomac, even for a short time. Such considerations outweighed even the prospect of taking Richmond.

While President Lincoln was thus "taking counsel of his fears,"⁷⁵ and promptly ordering troops from all directions to overwhelm Jackson, the latter was resting from the fatigues of his forced marches. Having turned over the pursuit of the enemy to the cavalry at midday on Sunday (25th), he placed his army in camp at Stephenson's, five miles north of Winchester, and, returning himself, to the town, took up his headquarters there. This historic town and its beautiful environs presented on that glorious May afternoon an aspect of quiet and repose strangely in contrast with the stormy scenes of the morning. Several warehouses filled with stores had been fired by the flying Federals, and this involved the burning of a considerable number of other buildings. But now the fire was over; the citizens were busy looking after the wounded, or paying the last sad rites to the dead. Universal joy, even when mingled with sorrow at the loss of loved ones, was manifested at Gen. Jackson's return.

Next morning Jackson issued an order in the following terms: "Within four weeks this army has made long and rapid marches, fought six combats, and two battles, signally defeating the enemy in each one, captured several stands of colors and pieces of artillery, with numerous prisoners, and vast medical, ordnance, and army stores; and finally driven the boastful host, which was ravaging our beautiful country, into utter rout. The general commanding would warmly express to the officers and men under his command his joy in their achievements, and his thanks for their brilliant gallantry in action and their patient

⁷⁵ A favorite aphorism of Jackson's was: "Never take counsel of your fears."

obedience under the hardships of forced marches, often more painful to the brave soldier than the dangers of battle. The explanation of the severe exertions to which the commanding general called the army, which were endured by them with such cheerful confidence in him, is now given in the victory of yesterday. He receives this proof of their confidence in the past with pride and gratitude, and asks only a similar confidence in the future.

"But his chief duty to-day, and that of the army, is to recognize devoutly the hand of a protecting Providence in the brilliant successes of the last three days (which have given us the results of a great victory without great losses), and to make the oblation of our thanks to God for his mercies to us and our country in heartfelt acts of religious worship. For this purpose the troops will remain in camp to-day, suspending, as far as possible, all military exercises; and the chaplains of regiments will hold divine service in their several charges at 4 o'clock P. M."⁷⁶

Another day was spent in resting, and then the Confederate leader was ready for action. "Immediately after the battle of Winchester he had sent a trusty officer to the capital with despatches explaining his views. The decision of the government was that he should press the enemy at Harper's Ferry, threaten an invasion of Maryland and an assault upon the Federal capital, and thus make the most energetic diversion possible to draw a portion of the forces of McDowell and McClellan from Richmond."⁷⁷ Early on the 28th, Gen. Winder, with four regiments and two batteries of his brigade, was sent forward towards Charlestown by way of Summit Point. He picked up a few cavalry scouts on the way, through whom he learned, when within five miles of Charlestown, that the enemy occupied it in force. He communicated this information to Jackson, who then ordered Ewell to move in the same direction.

The troops in front of Winder were part of a force that had been rapidly concentrated at Harper's Ferry. Col. Miles had held that post for some time with a small force, but with noartil-

⁷⁶ Dabney, p. 384.

⁷⁷ Dabney, p. 386.

lery.⁷⁸ Upon the reception of the news of Banks's defeat, Gen. R. Saxton had been sent to take command, and troops and artillery were hurried forward. Saxton arrived on the 26th, and by the evening of the 27th a force of some seven thousand (7,000) men⁷⁹ and eighteen (18) pieces of artillery⁸⁰ had been gathered there. He at once occupied Bolivar heights, the high plateau in the fork of the Shenandoah and the Potomac, with his troops, and placed a naval battery of Dahlgren guns on the point of the mountain north of the Potomac, known as "Maryland Heights." This last position completely commands the town and the Bolivar heights. He attempted, on the evening of the 27th, to take possession of the point of the mountain opposite the Maryland heights, on the Virginia side, and known as the Loudoun heights, but the two companies sent for this purpose were driven off by some guerrillas. Next day a "reconnaissance in force was made towards Charlestown by the One Hundred and Eleventh Pennsylvania regiment, the First Maryland cavalry, and a section of Reynolds's battery."⁸¹ This force drove the Confederate cavalry scouts out of the town, and took up a position near its southern limits. It was soon after that Gen. Winder reached the vicinity of the town; and, forcing back the Federal cavalry pickets through a piece of woodland, he found the main body drawn up in line of battle beyond. Seeing that the Federal force was far less than had been reported, he made arrangements to attack at once. To reply to the two Federal guns that had opened on him, he placed Carpenter's four pieces in position, and supported them by the Thirty-third Virginia regiment. "This battery was admirably worked, and in twenty minutes the enemy retired in great disorder, throwing away arms, blankets, haversacks, etc. The pursuit was continued rapidly with artillery and infantry. Capt. Poague was ordered up with a gun and howitzer. These, with Carpenter's guns, were placed in position wherever practicable."⁸² Saxton, hearing of the repulse of his advance, sent forward the

⁷⁸ See President Lincoln's despatch, p. 236.

⁷⁹ Saxton's report, "Rebellion Record," vol. v. p. 159.

⁸⁰ President Lincoln's despatch, above referred to.

⁸¹ Saxton's report.

Seventy-eighth New York and the remainder of Reynolds's battery to cover the retreat. The Federals reached Bolivar heights with the loss of nine prisoners, and Saxton formed his main body "in line of battle extending along the crest of Bolivar heights across the peninsula from the Potomac to the Shenandoah."⁸² The Confederates continued the pursuit to Halltown, when, finding the enemy in position at Bolivar, and tired from a march of over twenty-one miles, they were content to return and go into camp in the vicinity of Charlestown. Gen. Ewell arrived at nightfall. (Map No. VI.)

Next day (29th) the main body of the Confederate army "took position near Halltown, and the Second regiment of Virginia infantry was sent to the Loudoun heights, with the hope of being able to drive the enemy from Harper's Ferry across the Potomac."⁸⁴

These movements consumed the greater part of the day, which was not marked otherwise on the Confederate side, save by the driving in of the Federal pickets and the repulse of the reconnoitring parties sent out by Gen. Saxton.

The latter continued throughout the day to hold the Federal forces in order of battle on Bolivar heights. In the afternoon, the fact that no attack had been made in front, the appearance of a Confederate force on Loudoun heights, and a report that Jackson was crossing one division over the Potomac, above Harper's Ferry, caused him to fear an attack on Maryland heights in his rear. He therefore determined to move part of his infantry to the north side of the Potomac, and place it on those heights, so as to secure his battery, already there, and to withdraw the remainder from Bolivar to the hill immediately above Harper's Ferry, where his line would be shorter and his troops more completely protected by the guns on the Maryland heights. These changes he effected during the night of the 29th.

These precautions, however, were unnecessary. Jackson had no time at his disposal for crossing the Potomac and investing the

⁸² Winder's report.

⁸³ Saxton's report.

⁸⁴ Jackson's report.

enemy on all sides. He had already carried his instructions, to threaten an invasion of Maryland and a movement upon Washington, to the extreme point consistent with safety. The movements of the large bodies of troops which the Federal President had been for some days urging with such haste towards his rear, now imperatively demanded his attention. Jackson's strength was not over fifteen thousand (15,000) men.⁸⁵ All the energy of a great government was now being expended in gathering about him a force of between fifty-five and sixty thousand (55,000 and 60,000) men.⁸⁶

The despatch of President Lincoln to Gen. McDowell, already given, required him to send half his corps after Jackson. Subsequent orders directed him to increase still further this force. McDowell moved King's division after those of Shields and Ord. The front division (Shields's) was pushed forward as rapidly as possible, and by the evening of the 29th was so far advanced as to be within striking distance of Front Royal the next day. Gen. McDowell was himself directing the march of the other divisions towards the same point, and reached Rectortown on the 30th.⁸⁷

On the other hand, Gen. Fremont, who had been quietly resting at Franklin for ten days, while Jackson was making forced marches after Banks, was startled by the news from the latter on the 24th, and next day (Sunday, 25th) took up his march, under President Lincoln's orders, for Strasburg.⁸⁸ The route he chose

⁸⁵ Dabney. Jackson's force has been greatly exaggerated in many of the accounts of this campaign.

⁸⁶ McDowell was moving towards Front Royal and Strasburg with the divisions of Shields, Ord, and King, containing 30,000 men (see his return for May 17, and his testimony before the Committee on the Conduct of the War). Fremont was marching towards the same points, by way of Wardensville, with a force of 14,672 (officers and men for duty, by return of May 30). Saxton had at Harper's Ferry 7000 troops (Saxton's report), and Banks was at Williamsport, where the remains of his army had grown to over 7000 men (see his return for May 31). All were to join in the general movement against Jackson.

⁸⁷ Shields's division entered Front Royal first; Ord's (Rickett's) division followed. King, who was in the rear, sent two of his brigades (Augur's and Patrick's) as far as Front Royal, which they entered June 1. The other brigade (Gibbons's) stopped at Haymarket, to which point the advance brigades of King returned on June 2.

⁸⁸ Fremont says: "With the intelligence of these events" (Jackson's attack on Banks), "despatched to me under date of May 24, came also an order from the President directing me to break camp and march against Jackson at Harrisonburg.

was by way of Petersburg (where he left all surplus baggage and tents) and Moorefield. His progress was delayed by rain and bad roads, so that it was Friday night (30th) when he reached Wardensville.

"Of the different roads leading from Franklin to Harrisonburg, all but one had been obstructed by Jackson in his retreat. . . . The road still left open ran southwardly, reaching Harrisonburg by a long detour."

Fremont was afraid to lengthen his line of supply, and especially was fearful, if he went to Harrisonburg, that Jackson might go from Strasburg or Winchester to Romney or Moorefield. A despatch from Secretary Stanton, May 25, left him free to choose his route, and he chose to go back from Franklin to Petersburg, and then to go by way of Wardensville to Strasburg. He reached Petersburg on the afternoon of May 26, resumed his march at daybreak on the 27th, reached Moorefield at night, and on the 28th went to Fabius, ten miles east of Moorefield, on Branch mountain. Here he halted on the 29th, because, he says, of the urgent representations of his surgeon and others that the men needed rest, and could not properly go on. On the 30th he moved forward, and on the 31st reached Cedar creek.

NOTE.—Some interesting reminiscences of the battle of Winchester were received from Gen. Trimble after the foregoing chapter was in print. It seems that Ewell's division moved forward early on the morning of the 24th May towards Winchester, Trimble's brigade in front. At eight o'clock the troops halted to rest, when Gen. Trimble descried the smoke of burning stores in the direction of Strasburg, and suggested a march directly to Newtown to cut the main road from Strasburg to Winchester. Jackson, however, thinking it more probable that Banks was retreating from Strasburg westwards towards the Potomac, left Ewell with Trimble's brigade and some other troops at this point, and, taking Taylor's brigade with the remainder of the army, moved towards Middletown that he might the sooner strike Banks if he had taken the route supposed. Ewell remained at Nineveh the greater part of the day waiting for orders. These orders, by the failure of the courier to find him, instead of being delivered by mid-day did not reach him until 3:30 p. m. They directed him to move on Newtown, but when received, the artillery fire indicated that Jackson with the main body, in following up Banks, had already advanced to that point. Hence, after consultation, Gens. Ewell and Trimble marched towards Winchester, the vicinity of which they reached at dusk.

Next morning the artillery fire on Jackson's wing was heard by seven o'clock. Trimble's brigade was then moving forward on the other flank. "Gen. Ewell in person directed the Twenty-first North Carolina regiment to enter the suburbs at a mill in the southeast part of the town, directing the other regiments of Trimble's brigade and the artillery to ascend the high grounds and take a position on the east of Winchester, a half-mile or so distant from that place.

"As soon as the North Carolina regiment passed the mill-stream they were met by a destructive fire from behind stone fences, and could not advance. Col. Mercer, of the Twenty-first Georgia, skilfully moved farther to the right, charged the enemy in flank and drove

them off. Gen. Ewell relinquished the attack at that point, and marched his whole command to the high ground before named, ordering his artillery to open fire on the enemy's batteries, which could be discovered on the south edge of the town. After a cannonade of fifteen minutes, a dense fog obscured the Valley completely and laid over the town for perhaps half an hour, during which the firing ceased on both sides entirely. It was about nine o'clock. After this, the fog was lifted as a curtain, displaying everything, houses and the enemy's troops, in full view. Then a fierce artillery fire at once opened, displaying in the bright sunshine as inspiring a battle-scene as was ever witnessed. ' ' '

"A half-hour after the fog rose, the southern yell of Taylor's brigade was heard far off on the opposite heights, as they charged down on the flank of the enemy's position. Gen. Jackson had ordered Taylor to pass in the rear, out of view, gain the enemy's right flank and charge down on him."

Gen. Trimble now desired to move to the north end of the town and seize the Martinsburg road. Gen. Ewell, after some delay, directed the movement to be made, but when Gen. Trimble reached the Martinsburg road the mass of the Federal troops had already passed the point, and their rapid flight soon placed them out of reach of the Confederate infantry. The severity of the service undergone by Jackson's troops in this expedition may be gathered from the fact, stated by Gen. Trimble, that at Winchester twenty per cent. of his brigade were barefooted. The abundant stores captured were a God-send to the ill-provided Confederates.

CHAPTER V.

CROSS KEYS AND PORT REPUBLIC.

Jackson had been watching the approach of his enemies, and concluded, on Friday morning (30th), that it was time for him to withdraw if he would pass between the converging armies of Fremont and McDowell.¹ Accordingly, "orders were issued for all the Confederate troops, except Winder's brigade, the First Maryland regiment, and the cavalry, to return to Winchester on the 30th. Directions were given to Gen. Winder to recall the Second Virginia regiment from Loudoun heights, and, so soon as it should return to its brigade, to move with his command, including the cavalry, and rejoin the main body of the army."²

While Jackson, with the main body of his forces, was thus returning to Winchester from the vicinity of Harper's Ferry, Shields, with a small body of cavalry and the advance infantry brigade of his division, was already crossing the Blue Ridge, and pouring down from the mountain-pass upon Front Royal. The Twelfth Georgia regiment, Col. Conner, and a section of Rice's battery, had been left by the Confederate commander to hold this post and cover the removal of the very large amount of stores there captured. These last were being removed as fast as Maj. John A. Harman, chief quartermaster, could effect it. All the captured wagons, and those that could be spared from the army, as well as all that could be hired or impressed in the vicinity, had been for some days engaged in taking the stores from Winchester and Front Royal to the rear. Trains of wagons were loading, under the direction of Capt. Cole, assistant quarter-

¹ On Thursday night a messenger brought him information of the movement of Fremont towards Strasburg, and on the morning of the 30th he received definite information of the progress of Shields and McDowell towards Front Royal, and of the condition of Banks's troops at Williamsport.

² Jackson's report.

master, Thirty-seventh Virginia regiment, at the time of Shields's approach. Col. Conner seems not to have been aware of the vicinity of the enemy until they were almost upon him. He then hastily abandoned the town, and with his small force fell back over the Shenandoah on the road to Winchester. Capt. Cole was with difficulty able to send his wagons beyond the reach of pursuit, and had barely time to fire the depot and buildings containing the remainder of the Federal stores. The recapture of them by Shields was thus prevented. The latter officer pursued the retreating Confederates some distance on the road to Winchester, Col. Conner making but a feeble resistance, and losing in the retreat six Federal prisoners that were in his hands, as well as a considerable number of his own men, and one piece of artillery.³

The condition of affairs when Jackson reached Winchester on the evening of that day (the 30th) was as follows: McDowell was in possession of Front Royal, which is but twelve miles from Strasburg, while Winchester is eighteen. Fremont was at Wardensville, distant twenty miles from Strasburg, and had telegraphed the Federal President that he would enter the latter place by 5 P. M. on the next day.⁴ The mass of Jackson's forces had

³ A Federal account in the "Rebellion Record," vol. v., puts the number of Confederates captured at 156, and so does the report of the surgeon-general in the "Medical and Surgical History of the War." The latter puts the Federal loss at 14. I have found no official reports of the officers engaged.

It is said that when the officer in command reported to Gen. Jackson, at Winchester, in the evening, and gave a rather sensational account of the recapture of Front Royal and the repulse of his own regiment, Gen. Jackson looked up, and in his quick, nervous way, asked: "Colonel, how many men had you killed?" "None, I am glad to say, general." "How many wounded?" "Few or none, sir." "Do you call that fighting, sir?" said Jackson, and a few minutes afterwards the colonel was put under arrest.

⁴ The following despatches are from Gen. Fremont's report:

"WASHINGTON, May 29.

"MAJ.-GEN. FREMONT:

"Gen. McDowell's advance, if not checked by the enemy, should, and probably will be, at Front Royal by 12 noon to-morrow. His force, when up, will be about 20,000.

"Please have your force at Strasburg, or, if the route you are moving on does not lead to that point, as near Strasburg as the enemy may be by that time. . . .

"A. LINCOLN."

marched twenty-five miles to reach Winchester, and his rear guard, under Winder, after skirmishing with the enemy at Harper's Ferry for the greater part of the day, had, upon the reunion of the Second Virginia regiment with it, camped in the vicinity of Halltown, which is about forty-three miles distant from Strasburg. Thus, while the head of Jackson's column was still eighteen miles from Strasburg, and the rear forty miles distant, the head of McDowell's army was but twelve miles from the same point, and Fremont's forces were but twenty miles away. The combined forces of McDowell and Fremont were nearly triple the Confederate strength. They were hastening from opposite directions to cut off Jackson's retreat, and once at Strasburg the way would be barred. From the Potomac side the combined forces of Banks and Saxton amounted to fourteen thousand (14,000) men, and were ready to close in on the rear of the retreating Confederates. In this perilous situation the Confederate leader decided to occupy Strasburg in advance of his enemies, and to pass swiftly between the two principal armies gathering for his destruction. It was a case in which supreme audacity was the most consummate skill.

No time was to be lost if the Confederates were to escape from the dangers that threatened them, and Jackson lost none. Orders were issued for everything at Winchester to move early the next morning (May 31). The two thousand three hundred (2,300) Federal prisoners were first sent forward, guarded by the Twenty-first Virginia regiment; next, the long trains, including many loaded with captured stores; then followed the whole of the army except the rear guard under Winder. Capt. Hotchkiss was sent with orders to Winder to hasten on to Winchester and not to camp until he had made some part of the distance between that place and Strasburg.⁵

"WASHINGTON, May 30, 4 P. M.

"MAJ.-GEN. FREMONT:

"Yours saying you will reach Strasburg or vicinity by 5 P. M., Saturday, has been received and sent to Gen. McDowell, and he directed to act in view of it. You must be up to time of your promise if possible.

"A. LINCOLN."

⁵ Capt. Hotchkiss says that Gen. Jackson sent him, at 10 P. M., to Winder, saying: "I want you to go to Charlestown and bring up the

The march was made without molestation, and during the afternoon the main body of the Confederates reached Strasburg, and camped there for the night. Gen. Winder, late in the day, passed through Winchester to the neighborhood of Newtown, where he went into camp, some parts of his command having marched thirty-five, and all of it twenty-eight, miles!

Jackson thus in a single day put thirty miles between himself and the tardy columns of Saxton and Banks, and took position directly between the two armies of Fremont and McDowell, which had been sent to crush him. But the latter were moving with too great caution for their purpose towards the appointed rendezvous. Gen. Shields consumed the day in getting the whole of his division into Front Royal, and in posting it out on the various roads leading from that village. He had exaggerated ideas of Jackson's strength, and was also imposed upon by a report that a force under Longstreet was approaching to the relief of Jackson by the Luray valley. When Gen. McDowell, therefore, who had during the day urged forward Ord's (now Rickett's) division towards Front Royal, came up with Shields at nightfall, he found that one of the latter's brigades had been posted with reference to a force approaching from Luray, while another was at the fords of the Shenandoah, a third in the direction of Strasburg, and the fourth in Front Royal itself.⁶ Shields had not ventured, however, to push out to any considerable distance from the latter place. He made no attempt to occupy Strasburg, or to impede and harass Jackson's retreat by striking the Valley turnpike, on which the latter was moving. He awaited the arrival of McDowell and the remaining divisions.

Fremont, on the other hand, left Wardensville on Saturday morning. He was to have entered Strasburg on that afternoon, according to his despatches to Mr. Lincoln, but he stopped several miles short of the town, at Cedar creek. The heavy roads, and a violent rainstorm in the afternoon, may have induced him to cut

First brigade. I will stay in Winchester until you get here, if I can; but if I cannot, and the enemy gets here first, you must conduct it around through the mountains."

⁶ McDowell's testimony.

short his march before he reached the Confederate outposts; but, whatever the cause, the result was the loss of all opportunity to seriously hinder the retreat of Jackson.

Saxton, at Harper's Ferry, had moved out, and, finding that Winder was gone, advanced as far as Charlestown, but there went into camp, and made no further effort to follow. He reports his men as having been "completely worn out by fatigue and exposure" consequent upon the skirmishes and movements of the preceding days.

Next morning (Sunday, June 1) the clouds broke away, and a bright day succeeded the rain-storm of the preceding afternoon and night,—a welcome change to the weary soldiers of both armies as they rose from their wet bivouac.

Jackson, during the morning, continued the movement of his prisoners and all surplus trains to the rear, while he retained the bulk of his force at Strasburg to keep possession of the road until Winder should arrive. Finding that Fremont was preparing to force in his cavalry outposts, under Ashby, on the Wardsville road, he ordered Gen. Ewell, with his division to support them, and subsequently strengthened Ewell by other troops, so as to make a display of force. Fremont's effort to advance was, however, very feeble. Cluseret's brigade was in the front of his command, and engaged the Confederate advance, but, after a spirited skirmish, the brigade was withdrawn, because of the advantageous position of the Confederate artillery, and Fremont took position a short distance to the rear. Here he remained the greater part of the day,⁷ making no further attack on the Confederate lines, evidently hesitating to bring down the whole of Jackson's force on himself, while uncertain that McDowell was within supporting distance.

Meantime, Jackson's rapid movements seem to have completely bewildered McDowell and Shields. The former gives the following account of the day's operations: "The next morning (June 1) I endeavored to get in the division of Gen. Ord, then Gen. Rickett's division. They were wet, had no tents, and were

⁷ On the water-shed between Cedar creek and the Shenandoah, about three miles from Strasburg.

very much exposed, but they got along the best way they could. They kept coming in in driblets, sometimes in considerable bodies. We heard firing, and that animated them somewhat, and they began to come in pretty fast. The firing seemed to be in the direction of Winchester. I saw Gen. Shields, and it was arranged that he should take the road at once with his division, as he knew the country and we did not. He said if he could only get his troops in from the different places where they had been posted, he could accomplish the movement. I told him that he could give orders that they should take up their march, and I would see that those positions they then occupied were cared for. He was to go on the direct road to Strasburg, and not cross the North Fork of the Shenandoah until near Strasburg, and that if he should interpose between Jackson's advance, Ord's division should throw itself upon his flank.

"After some time in getting Ord's, or rather Rickett's, division together, I started out to the front. I met one of Gen. Shields's aides-de-camp coming in from (to?) Front Royal, and asked him how far out he had met Gen. Shields. He said he had not met him at all. I told him he had started to go out, and he said he must have lost his way. Without stopping to see what had become of him, I took Bayard's cavalry brigade, the only one ready to move, and sent it forward by the direct road to Strasburg.⁸ I then went to see where Gen. Shields was, and found him over on the road towards Winchester. He had sent his troops on that road, instead of on the one I had ordered him to send them on. He said that he had received information from his aide-de-camp that Jackson had fallen back, and he had sent his troops this way. When I got up there they were coming in.

"Well, it was too late to get ahead of Jackson then. The only way then was this: I expected Gen. Fremont would be coming into Strasburg, and to come in from the south, instead of the north. But we heard the firing in another direction, showing that the force was not coming the way we expected. So Gen.

⁸ Lieut. Boswell, of Gen. Jackson's staff, scouting with five men, found the Federal cavalry on the road from Strasburg to Front Royal. Jackson sent some cavalry to stop their advance, but no serious effort was made to force a way.

Shields went off with my consent to Luray, as giving the only chance to effect anything. He knew the country, the roads, bridges, etc., better than I did, and I sent forward this cavalry brigade of Bayard's to hang upon the rear of the enemy."⁹

Thus Shield's division was sent forward first on the Strasburg road;¹⁰ then had its line of march changed, under information entirely worthless, to the Winchester road;¹¹ and lastly, in despair of overhauling Jackson by moving directly on his line of retreat, it was moved over to the Luray road. The day was thus wasted, and Shields was finally sent in pursuit by a longer and rougher route, with the sanguine expectation of "heading off" Jackson, who had gained a day's start, and was moving by the shorter and better road.

Winder reached Strasburg about noon. Jackson in the afternoon withdrew the troops that had been holding Fremont in check, and his whole force, now united, continued to retreat in the direction of Harrisonburg. The rear of the Confederates was covered by the cavalry. The latter camped some four miles south of Strasburg, while Jackson, with the mass of his army, rested for the night at Woodstock.

On Friday morning Jackson was in front of Harper's Ferry, which place is fifty miles from Strasburg; Fremont was at Moorefield, thirty-eight miles from Strasburg, with his advance ten miles on the way to the latter place; Shields was not more than twenty miles from Strasburg, for his advance entered Front Royal, which is but twelve miles distant, before mid-day on Friday; while McDowell was following with two divisions within supporting distance. Yet by Sunday night Jackson had marched a distance of between fifty and sixty miles, though encumbered with prisoners and captured stores, had reached Strasburg before

⁹ Report of Committee on Conduct of the War, Part I. p. 265.

¹⁰ Saturday having been lost, Shields could not have reached Strasburg in time to "intercept" any portion of Jackson's command, as Winder was only nine or ten miles from that place on Sunday morning with the Confederate rear guard, while Shields was twelve miles off, with a hilly country road to move on and a river to cross.

¹¹ The roads to Strasburg and Winchester from Front Royal are the same for two miles out from the latter village, and separate in the fork of the rivers.

either of his adversaries, and had passed safely between their armies, while he held Fremont at bay by a show of force, and blinded and bewildered McDowell by the rapidity of his movements.

As the Confederates withdrew from Strasburg, Cluseret's brigade, of Fremont's forces, followed them and occupied the town. A force, sent forward to reconnoitre the Confederates, came up with the rear, consisting of the Second and Sixth Virginia cavalry regiments, some four or five miles south of Strasburg. In the darkness of the night a small party of Federal cavalry, being mistaken for some of Ashby's men, passed the Confederate picket and produced some confusion in the Sixth regiment. They were soon repulsed, however, and thus ended the operations of the day. The main body of Fremont's army bivouacked for the night in the position it had occupied during the day. It was only next morning that this general entered Strasburg with the mass of his troops, at about the same time as Bayard's cavalry brigade, which had been sent forward by McDowell the day before. Ordering Bayard to take the advance, Fremont now pressed forward in pursuit with a vigor which might have been more effective if it had been manifested two or three days sooner.

Simultaneously, Shields was advancing from Front Royal towards Luray. McDowell turned over to this officer the further pursuit of Jackson by that route, and held Ord's division for the time at Front Royal. McDowell says: "Just as Gen. Shields left, he seemed to be disturbed about the question of supplies. He had been in that country before, and his command had suffered somewhat. He wrote me a letter stating his apprehensions, saying that if troops instead of supplies kept coming over, the troops would starve, and asking why I should bring so many there; that he had enough men to clear the Valley out, and for God's sake not to send him any more men, but to send him supplies. I wrote back to him that the road¹² had been finished, and that there were supplies in abundance at Front Royal, and he could supply himself at that place with the trains that he had,

¹² Manassas Gap railroad.

and that I was willing he should follow up Jackson as far as his better knowledge of the roads of that country would, in his judgment, render it profitable and advisable, with the single direction that when he moved he should move with his whole division together, so that the different parts of it should be in supporting distance of each other."¹³

The fact that though McDowell's advance had entered Front Royal on Friday morning, it had not appeared near Strasburg as late as Sunday afternoon, caused Jackson to suspect the movement by the Luray valley.¹⁴ The graded road up this valley runs on the east side of the main or South Fork of the Shenandoah, a river in ordinary stages fordable at but few points, and now swollen so as to be impassable except at the bridges. It was now crossed by but three bridges in the whole distance of over fifty miles from Front Royal to Conrad's Store, where the Luray valley merges into the great Valley by the sinking of the Massanutton mountain into the general level.¹⁵ One of these, the most southerly, was at Conrad's Store; two were on the road that leads from New Market across the Massanutton mountains. This road divides at the eastern base of the Massanuttons, the one branch going northeast *via* Luray and Thornton's gap in the Blue Ridge to Culpeper, the other east by Alma and Fischer's¹⁶ gap to Madison Court-House. The first of these roads crosses the Shenandoah by the White-House, the other by the Columbia bridge. It was by the former that Jackson had crossed, when ten days before he had moved down to turn Banks's flank at Front Royal. To prevent Shields from crossing at these two bridges was to prevent his junction with Fremont, and to keep him from making any effort to "head off" Jackson short of Harrisonburg, as well as to condemn him to a march of sixty miles over muddy roads to reach a point not over fifty miles distant now from the Confederates, and which they were approaching by a

¹³ McDowell's testimony, Report of Committee on Conduct of the War, Part I. p. 266.

¹⁴ See Jackson's report, Confederate Official Reports, vol. i., 1862.

¹⁵ The Red bridge, the first one north of Conrad's Store, had been destroyed in April.

¹⁶ Sometimes erroneously called Milam's. The latter is farther southwest.



Confederate Routes
Federal Routes

good MacAdam road. The Confederate commander despatched a detachment of cavalry to burn the bridges, which was effected without opposition.¹⁷

Having taken this measure to free himself for the time from one of his pursuers, Jackson fell back more leisurely before the other. On Monday (June 2) he retreated to Mount Jackson. All day his rear was closely followed by Fremont's advance. Ashby, who had received his commission as brigadier-general at Winchester a few days before, was now placed in command of all the cavalry, and to him was committed the duty of protecting the rear. He skirmished constantly with the enemy, checking them whenever they advanced too close. At one time the enemy, securing a favorable position for artillery, shelled the rear guard so as to throw it into confusion. Bayard threw his cavalry quickly forward to take advantage of this. Ashby sees the coming charge, and the Confederate cavalry retreating in confusion. He dismounts, and gathering a few stragglers of the infantry, who, too foot-sore and tired to keep up, are at hand, posts them in a wood near the roadside, and pours a volley at close quarters into the charging column. The column is checked and partly thrown into disorder. The advance, however, keep on, and ride through the rear of the nearest infantry regiment. The brigade commander, Col. J. M. Patton, files another regiment to the roadside, and a volley from this sends all who are not killed or wounded back in confusion.¹⁸

Jackson moved his trains over the North Fork of the Shenandoah, near Mount Jackson, on the afternoon of the 2d, and on the 3d fell back to New Market. Ashby again covered his rear, burning the bridge over the Shenandoah as he retired, notwithstanding the enemy's efforts to prevent it. Here this gallant offi-

¹⁷ Gen. Shields says he was ordered up the Luray valley, June 1, to fall on Jackson's flank while Fremont attacked him in rear. He continues: "About 5 P. M. next day my advance reached the Shenandoah at Honeyville, but found the Whitehouse bridge and the Columbia bridge both burned, thus cutting off all hope of attacking his flank at New Market. . . . I then pushed forward the advance as rapidly as possible in hope of finding the bridge at Conrad's Store still standing, but that bridge was also found burned." (Shields's report.)

¹⁸ Jackson's report, Dabney, p. 397.

cer had his horse killed, and narrowly escaped with his life. The destruction of the bridge checked Fremont's advance for a day.¹⁹

Next day Jackson continued his retreat, and on the 5th reached Harrisonburg, which he entered before mid-day. Here he changed his line of march, and leaving the Valley turnpike, moved in the direction of Port Republic and Brown's gap.

When he retired before Banks, six weeks before, he had gone to Elk Run valley, at the foot of Swift Run gap. His special object in selecting that route had been that it placed him most readily in communication with Ewell at Madison Court-House.

Now in retiring towards Port Republic Jackson secured a better and shorter route to the Virginia Central railroad, if it should become necessary to leave the Valley, while the configuration of the mountains at Brown's gap gave him an almost imprégnable position, should he desire to hold it.²⁰ At Port Republic there was no danger that Fremont would attempt to pass him towards Staunton.

To leave Harrisonburg, however, by this route was to leave open a means of communication between Fremont and Shields over the road Jackson had himself formerly used from Harrisonburg to Conrad's Store. His first care was to prevent a union of these forces by this means in his front. The only bridge over the Shenandoah between Port Republic and those he had destroyed was at Conrad's Store. A detachment of cavalry was sent to destroy it. Shields had not yet advanced to this point, but had sent some cavalry to learn the condition of the bridge and to guard it. While this party was absent on a scout after some

¹⁹ There was a tremendous rain in the afternoon. Fremont replaced the burnt bridge by a pontoon, but the rapidly-rising river broke it, and thus delayed him one day. On the night of the 2d, Jackson sent Capt. Hotchkiss, with a party of signal-men, to the south end of the Massanutton mountain, to keep him advised of the movements of both Shields and Fremont.

²⁰ "Two arms of the mountain, lofty and rugged as the mother-ridge, project from it on the right and left hand, embracing a deep vale of many miles' circuit, watered by a copious mountain stream; and while the mighty rim of this cup is everywhere impracticable for artillery and cavalry, the narrow gorge through which the road enters it from the west affords scarcely room to set a regiment in battle array between the two promontories of the mountain. Here was obviously the place for a small army to stand at bay against superior numbers." (Dabney, p. 403.)

stores reported to be in the hands of a small Confederate guard a few miles off, the cavalry sent by Jackson reached the place and burnt the bridge. Jackson now held the only ready means of communication between his enemies,—the bridge at Port Republic. By destroying the other bridges he had placed a very troublesome barrier between his two pursuers, and now he occupied the point where their two routes converged. No farther to the rear would the Shenandoah serve as a barrier to their junction, for south of Port Republic its head-waters are easily fordable.

On the 5th, Jackson sent the sick and wounded to Staunton, crossing them over North river at Mount Crawford by means of a ferry. The bridge at this place had been destroyed when Banks advanced some weeks before, and the river was now so much swollen as to make fording and even ferrying apparently impossible. But Jackson would not be balked by this difficulty. From midnight of the 4th he continued to send officers and messengers to hurry forward the preparations. Early in the day on the 5th, Capt. C. R. Mason, in charge of pioneers, succeeded, after much labor and some risk, in constructing a ferry which carried over the ambulances and sick, and thus saved them the long and muddy detour by Port Republic. By means of the signal station established by Capt. Hotchkiss a day or two before on the end of the Massanutton chain, Jackson kept himself informed of the movements of Shields. He continued to occupy Harrisonburg with his rear guard until Fremont's advance once more came up. This was about mid-day on the 6th. Ashby allowed the enemy to occupy Harrisonburg without opposition, and retired to a position about two miles south, on the Port Republic road. Here he was attacked an hour later by a body of Fremont's cavalry under Col. Sir Percy Wyndham.²¹ This cavalry fight is vividly described by a Federal officer engaged in it, in a letter to the "New York Tribune," dated Fremont's headquarters, June 7. He says: "When all the cavalry had come up, a force consisting of the First New Jersey, First Pennsylvania,

²¹ This was an English officer who had taken service in the Federal cause, and was now commander of the First New Jersey cavalry.

two companies of the Fourth New York, and two companies of Connecticut cavalry, in all about eight hundred (800), under command of Col. Wyndham, of the First New Jersey regiment, was ordered forwarded by Gen. Fremont to take possession of the town and reconnoitre a short distance beyond. Before this column moved, a report was brought by a scout that there were three hundred rebel cavalry within a mile of the town, who were prevented from retreating by the destruction of a bridge a short distance in advance, and that they were rapidly rebuilding the bridge, and would be able to advance in an hour. This information was communicated to Col. Wyndham.²²

"About half-past one o'clock Col. Wyndham moved his force, and went through the long main street of the town at a rapid trot. Arriving on the other side, the column turned to the left and advanced through two or three fields to the summit of a hill overlooking an open valley, from which rose another hill beyond, covered with woods. No enemy was in sight. The cavalry were halted, and skirmishers sent ahead and on the flanks. They were gone some time, and returned with no satisfactory report. Nevertheless, Col. Wyndham, though he had reached the point beyond which he was ordered not to push his reconnoissance, decided to advance. With full knowledge that the enemy was somewhere in front of him, whom he might have to charge at any moment, he nevertheless hurried on his tired horses, advancing for more than two²³ miles at an unbroken trot. The enemy's cavalry were suddenly discovered in front, drawn up, as usual, across the road, and extending into the woods on either side. It was impossible to determine their force, and there was no support within three or four miles. But Col. Wyndham determined to attack, and, without any attempt to discover by skirmishing the strength or position of his enemy, or whether any infantry were opposed to him, ordered a charge, and rashly led his own regiment, the First New Jersey cavalry, straight up the hill.

"On the left of the road was nothing but woods. On the

²² This information was unreliable.

²³ Really one mile.

right, for some distance before the rebel line was reached, was a field of wheat. In this field was concealed a strong body, not less than a regiment, of rebel infantry.²⁴ They were not completely screened from view by the tall grain, but were visible at least to the officers and men of the second squadron. Utterly unsuspecting of such a force on his flank, Col. Wyndham charged with speed up the hill. When the first squadron was fairly within the line of flanking fire the rebels poured in a volley, which, coming so close at hand and on the flank, threw the whole squadron into confusion. Col. Wyndham's horse was shot under him, and he was taken prisoner. Capt. Shellmere, Company A, bravely striving to rally his men, was killed by a rifle-shot. All the officers bravely but vainly endeavored to rally their men, and after one or two feeble efforts to hold their ground the first battalion was driven down the hill. Capt. Janeway, Company L, who was leading the second squadron, perceiving as he advanced up the hill that the wheat-field covered a force of infantry, as soon as the first squadron was thrown into disorder by the unexpected fire on the flank, endeavored to lead his men through the woods on the left of the road, in order both to shelter them from the infantry fire and to flank the cavalry on the hill. This movement was skilfully planned, but before it could be wholly executed part of the squadron was thrown into confusion by the retreat of the advance, which came down the hill in disorderly flight, and nothing was left but to retire. . . . The regiment lost thirty-six killed and wounded."²⁵

Besides Col. Wyndham, sixty-three of his men were taken prisoners.²⁶ The Confederate loss was Maj. Green, of the Sixth Virginia cavalry, severely wounded.²⁷

Gen. Ewell, whose division was nearest Ashby, now coming on the field, the latter asked for an infantry support, anticipating confidently a renewal of the attack in stronger force. Gen Ewell sent him the First Maryland regiment, Col. B. T. Johnson, and the Fifty-eighth Virginia, Col. Letcher.

²⁴ A mistake. The troops referred to were some of Ashby's dismounted cavalry.

²⁵ "Rebellion Record," vol. v. p. 185.

²⁶ Jackson's report.

²⁷ Col. Munford's report.

"As soon as news of the repulse of Wyndham's attack was received at Fremont's headquarters, Gen. Bayard with the Bucktail rifles, four companies, and the First Pennsylvania cavalry, and Col. Cluseret with his brigade, comprising the Sixtieth Ohio and Eighth Virginia (Federal) infantry, were ordered forward to hold the farther end of the town and the approaches on that side."²⁸ When this force reached the vicinity of the Confederates, Col. Cluseret with one regiment advanced on the left, while Kane's Bucktails, supported by the Eighth Virginia, moved forward on the right.

Maj. Dabney, Gen. Jackson's chief of staff, thus describes the combat that followed: "Ashby disposed the Marylanders in the woods so as to take the Federal advance in flank while he met them in front at the head of the Fifty-eighth. Indicating to Gen. Ewell the dispositions of the enemy, which he had exactly anticipated, and his own arrangements to meet them, he seemed to the spectators to be instinct with unwonted animation and genius. At this moment the enemy's infantry advanced, and a fierce combat began. They, approaching through the open fields, had reached a heavy fence of timber, whence under the partial cover they poured destructive volleys into the ranks of the Fifty-eighth Virginia regiment. Ashby seeing at a glance their disadvantage, galloped to the front and ordered them to charge and drive the Federals from their vantage-ground. At this moment his horse fell, but extricating himself from the dying animal, and leaping to his feet, he saw his men wavering. He shouted, 'Charge, men! for God's sake charge!' and waved his sword, when a bullet pierced him full in the breast and he fell dead. The regiment took up the command of their dying general and rushed upon the enemy, while the Marylanders dashed upon their flank. Thus pressed, the Federals gave way; the Confederates occupied the fence, and poured successive volleys into the fleeing mass until they passed out of musket range."²⁹

While this was going on, the Federal left had driven in the Confederate skirmishers, over ground that had been recently

²⁸ "New York Tribune." Letter above quoted.

²⁹ Dabney's *Life of Jackson*, pp. 399, 400.

occupied as a camp, but without loss to either side; and the defeat of the Federal right involved the retreat of the whole. In this attack the Bucktails, on whom fell the greatest part of the loss, left their commander, Lieut.-Col. Kane, a prisoner, and had fifty-five (55) killed, wounded, and missing out of the one hundred and twenty-five (125) carried into the battle.³⁰ The Confederate loss, besides Gen. Ashby, was seventeen (17) killed, fifty (50) wounded, and three (3) missing.³¹ When the dead and wounded, as far as possible, had been cared for, the Confederate rear guard followed the army towards Port Republic.

The interest attaching to this fight between Jackson's rear guard and Fremont's advance does not grow mainly out of the engagement itself, which was comparatively unimportant, but out of the fact that it was the occasion of the fall of Gen. Turner Ashby.³² This gallant soldier had led the life of a Virginia country gentleman on his property in Fauquier county, Virginia, until the outbreak of the war. He at once took up arms, and entered the service at the head of a company of horsemen (known as the Mountain Rangers) composed of his friends and neighbors. He soon became pre-eminent for dash and courage. Nor for these alone. In him the qualities that most excite admiration in a soldier were happily united to those that most excite enthusiastic affection and devotion. Insensible to danger, or oblivious of it, the more daring an enterprise the greater was its attractiveness for him. Of great energy and ceaseless activity, he was ever on the alert, and his name had become a dreaded one by the foe. With such qualities were united the utmost generosity and unselfishness, a delicacy of sentiment and feeling equal to a woman's, and a respect for the rights of others which permitted, within the limits of his authority, no outrage on friend or foe. Says Jackson in his official report: "An official report is not an appropriate place for more than a passing notice of the distinguished dead; but the close relation which Gen. Ashby bore to my command for most of the previous twelve months, will justify me in saying that as a partisan officer I never knew his superior. His

³⁰ Letter in "New York Tribune."

³¹ Jackson's report.

³² Ashby was killed on the farm of Mr. Joseph Good.

daring was proverbial, his powers of endurance almost incredible, his tone of character heroic, and his sagacity almost intuitive in divining the purposes and movements of the enemy."

The remains of Ashby were removed to Port Republic and prepared for burial.³³ His home in Fauquier county being within the Federal lines, it was resolved to bury him at the State University at Charlottesville, Virginia. On Saturday the corpse was sent under military escort to Waynesboro', whence it was carried by railroad to the University. The day was one of the most beautiful than can be conceived. Summer covered with glory the mountains and valleys of this beautiful region. The bright green fields and darker woodlands, the rolling hills, intersected everywhere by the valleys of the streams, the bold mountains towering above the Shenandoah and showing in the distance the softest and most delicate of outlines against the June sky, presented a picture to charm the dullest imagination. The storm of battle, even, seemed to have ceased out of respect for the dead. No gun was to be heard in the distance. Both armies were resting, taking breath, as it were, for the morrow's struggle. Along the base of the mountains, up the valley of South river, winds the road to Waynesboro'. Slowly and sadly the funeral cortege passed on its way. An escort of the brave comrades of Ashby, with bowed heads and sad mien, their arms reversed, accompanied the hearse. Behind it came the chieftain's horse and trappings, led by his negro servant, whose grief was more demonstrative. His personal staff next followed. The whole, as it wound along the quiet country road in the broad sunlight, seemed to recall some rite of ancient chivalry; and surely no nobler, braver, truer knight was ever borne by more devoted hearts to a glorious tomb.

The infantry of Jackson's army enjoyed a sorely-needed rest on the 6th and 7th. In the twenty-four days that had intervened between the time that Jackson had withdrawn from Fremont's

³³ "After all the sad rites were completed Gen. Jackson came to the room where he lay and demanded to see him. They admitted him alone. He remained for a time in silent communion with the dead, and then left him with a solemn and elevated countenance. It requires little use of the imagination to suppose that his thoughts were in part prophetic of a similar scene when his corpse was to receive the homage of all the good and brave." (Dabney, p. 401.)

front at Franklin and his arrival at Port Republic his army had marched three hundred miles, besides driving Banks over the Potomac. Lying on the north side of the Shenandoah, along Mill creek, a few miles in front of Port Republic, these exhausted and march-worn men refreshed themselves, and at the end of two days were as ready as ever for battle.

Meantime, Jackson, having prevented the junction of his two opponents by burning the bridges across the South Fork of the Shenandoah, below Port Republic, was preparing to take advantage of their enforced separation. He adapted his strategy to the character of the country and the rivers. About four miles southwest of Port Republic the North and Middle rivers, the principal tributaries that go to form the Main or South Fork of the Shenandoah, unite, and flow thence in a northeast direction to this village. At this place the third tributary, South river, coming from the southwest along the base of the Blue Ridge, joins the stream. It is smaller than either of the other two, and is fordable. Port Republic lies in the angle formed by South river and the main stream. (Map No. VII.) The bridge over North river, on the Valley turnpike, was destroyed, and that river was past fording in its swollen state. Just above the junction of the main stream with South river was the bridge, now held by Jackson, which carried the road from Harrisonburg to Brown's gap into Port Republic. The latter village is but twelve miles from Harrisonburg, and the intervening country is high and rolling. This country terminates along the river in an abrupt, bluff-like terrace, which continues for some miles below. This bluff completely commands the bridge, the village, and the eastern bank below the village. For many miles the country on the eastern side consists of a plain from one to two miles broad, sloping in successive terraces from the foot of the Blue Ridge to the river's brink. Beyond this a densely-wooded tract ascends gradually to the mountain-side. The low grounds were covered with cultivated fields or meadows. Through them, and for the most part not over half a mile from the river, runs the road to Conrad's Store and Luray,—the road Jackson had himself used when on the 30th of April he had left his camp in Elk Run valley for Port

Republic, and the road by which Shields must now approach. The road from Harrisonburg, after crossing the bridge into Port Republic, divides, and while one branch leads to Staunton, the other, crossing the South river by a ford, leads through the wooded plain on the east side to Brown's gap, five miles distant.³⁴ (Map No. VII.)

Fremont was equal to Jackson in force, Shields was inferior.³⁵ Together they largely outnumbered him. Jackson determined to retreat no farther, but to fight them in detail, while separated. To retire towards Brown's gap was to allow his enemies to unite. To concentrate on the east side at once against Shields as the weaker, and burn the bridge to keep Fremont back, was to run the risk of having the battle-field in the plain on the eastern side commanded by Fremont's guns, which would

³⁴ The road leads up Madison run, a stream so named from the ancestors of President and of Bishop Madison.

³⁵ Fremont's return for May 30 gives the "present for duty" of Schenck's, Milroy's, Cluseret's, and Blenker's commands as 14,672. Yet Gen. Fremont, without explaining this "stubborn fact," says that on the 29th of May he had "something over 11,000" effectives (official report written long after), and estimates this force as 10,500 on June 8. Adding Bayard's cavalry, which he says numbered 800, and Kane's Bucktails (about 125 or 150), his effective strength by this estimate was about 11,500 at Cross Keys.

Shields's division numbered 10,000 effectives May 17. See McDowell's return. McDowell did not send Ord's or King's divisions farther than Front Royal, so that Shields had but one-third of the force that had been sent from Fredericksburg against Jackson.

Jackson had moved against Banks, on May 19, with a total effective force of 16,000 or 17,000 men, and since that time his troops had been subjected to a series of forced marches far exceeding anything endured by those of Shields or Fremont, and which had diminished his strength in a much greater degree than battle. His effective force could not have exceeded 13,000, even if it reached that amount, as is apparent from the strength of the commands reported. Thus Ewell says the three brigades of Trimble, Elzey, and Steuart numbered less than 5,000 on June 8, at Cross Keys. Winder reports his brigade as 1,313 rank and file, and adding officers it did not exceed 1,450. Patton's (Campbell's) brigade had about 800 men present (the Twenty-first Virginia having gone off as an escort to prisoners). There were besides these but Taylor's (the strongest in the army) and Taliaferro's. Putting Taylor's four and one-half regiments at 2,500 effectives and Taliaferro's three regiments at 1,200, we have a total infantry force of about 11,000. Add 1,000 for cavalry and 500 or 600 for artillery, and we see that Jackson's strength for battle was short of 13,000. The only addition made to Jackson's force between 23d May and 8th June was Carrington's battery (four guns).

then crown the heights on the left bank. While it might not thus entirely paralyze Fremont in the struggle with Shields, it would certainly prevent Jackson from returning in case of success to attack Fremont. The Confederate commander, therefore, took the other plan remaining to him, and, having sent off his prisoners to the railroad at Waynesboro' and removed his trains to Port Republic, placed his army in position on the north side of the river; Gen. Ewell's division³⁶ at Cross Keys, half-way on the road to Harrisonburg, and Gen. Winder's³⁷ division on the heights above the bridge along the river. Here artillery was at hand to command the town and bridge and plain by which Shields must approach. Fremont was well closed up, and his vigorous pursuit of the last few days indicated a prompt attack without waiting for the co-operation of Shields. The latter was not so well up as Fremont, but his advance under Col. Carroll came within six miles of Port Republic on Saturday evening, June 7.

Jackson thus took a position where he might receive the attack of Fremont, while it was in the power of a small part of his force to hold Shields in check. His position, if the latter attempted to attack in aid of Fremont, was impregnable. Gen. Tyler thought it "one to defy an army of fifty thousand (50,000) men."³⁸ Defeat by Fremont would have rendered Jackson's condition precarious, but this contingency he did not anticipate.

His sagacity was made manifest, and his strategy approved by the movements of his adversaries. Fremont had failed to seize the Confederate line of retreat at Strasburg when it was possible, and had permitted Jackson, encumbered with prisoners and captures, to pass by him unmolested. His pursuit of the retreating Confederates had emboldened him, and now, having followed them over fifty miles farther, he was ready to attack, in a chosen position, the army he had hesitated to fight when

³⁶ Ed. Johnson's brigade had been incorporated into Ewell's division, the Twelfth Georgia, Twenty-fifth and Thirty-first Virginia having been assigned to Elzey's brigade, and the Fifty-second, Fifty-eighth, and Forty-fourth Virginia to Gen. George H. Steuart, commanding the Maryland line.

³⁷ Winder now commanded Jackson's old division as senior brigadier.

³⁸ Tyler's report.

hampered by its trains and captures. Then McDowell was within reach to aid, now an impassable river prevented all co-operation. Shields, on the other hand, condemned by the burning of the bridges to make his toilsome way along the muddy roads of the Luray valley, had halted at Columbia, and sent forward his advance brigades to harass Jackson's flank, with orders to go as far as Waynesboro' and break the railroad. The movements of Carroll's brigade are thus described by a northern writer:³⁹

"On the 4th instant, while at Conrad's Store, Col. Carroll received orders to go forward at once, with cavalry and guns, to save the bridge at Port Republic. At that time it was impossible for him to move. The heavy rains which had prevailed for some days had so swollen the streams that Col. Carroll was entirely separated from his command, having with him only his staff, fifteen cavalry, and two pieces of artillery. His infantry was five miles in his rear, and compelled to remain there, by the impassable creeks, between two and three days.

"On Saturday, the 7th, Col. Carroll received orders to move forward to Waynesboro', distant some thirty-five or thirty-seven miles, by the way of Port Republic, for the purpose of destroying the railroad depot, track, bridge, etc., at that place, and to seize Jackson's train and throw his force upon Jackson's flank. Col. Carroll marched, in obedience to these orders, on Saturday afternoon. His infantry, cavalry, and artillery had in the mean time come up, and he started from Conrad's Store with less than a thousand of the former, with one hundred and fifty cavalry, and with a single battery of six guns.

"Halting in the night, six miles before reaching Port Republic, Col. Carroll sent forward a party of scouts, who returned with the information that Jackson's train was parked near Port Republic, with a drove of beef cattle herded near by, and the whole guarded by about two or three hundred cavalry."

On the same day (7th) Gen. Tyler, with his brigade, was ordered forward from Columbia bridge to co-operate with Carroll. He reached the neighborhood of Port Republic at 2 P. M. on the 8th.

³⁹ "National Intelligencer." See "Rebellion Record," vol. v. p. 113.

Jackson had placed his headquarters on the southwestern outskirts of the village,⁴⁰ and his trains had been parked in the adjoining fields. Carrington's battery, which had just joined his command, was also camped here; but with this exception, and that of a few troopers and train-guards, there was no force on the Port Republic side of the river. Two companies of cavalry had been sent across South river in the direction from which Gen. Shields must approach, the one to reconnoitre and the other to do picket duty. The mass of Shields's forces were known to be miles away, and the cavalry scouts were expected to give timely warning of his approach.

Sunday morning, June 8, was bright with all the glory of summer in the Valley of the Shenandoah. Quiet reigned throughout the Confederate camp, and men and animals alike seemed to enjoy the rest which for a day or two had succeeded to the excessive toils and marches of the campaign. Jackson was just mounting his horse to ride to the front when a bold and unexpected dash by Col. Carroll opened the fight at Port Republic itself, and for a few moments threatened serious damage.

Col. Carroll, having learned the evening before, through renegades familiar with the country, the location of Jackson's trains and the smallness of the guard, pushed on early in the morning. Confirming his previous information by a new reconnoissance when within two miles of the town, he dashed forward with his cavalry and two pieces of artillery, leaving the remainder of his command to follow. The Confederate cavalry pickets are quickly driven in and their supports put to flight. Carroll dashes on without halting, and reaches the bank of South river, opposite the village, almost as soon as the flying Confederates. Jackson, informed of the attack, and followed by his staff, rides rapidly through the town towards the bridge and the troops stationed a few hundred yards from it on the north-side hills. Carroll stopping but a moment at the South river, boldly crosses it, and rides into the middle of the town so quickly as to intercept the two hindmost of Jackson's staff and make them

⁴⁰ Jackson's headquarters at Mr. Kemper's were near the site of an old fort (built as a protection against Indians in early times), and the first clerk's office of Augusta county.

prisoners.⁴¹ One piece of artillery he promptly places at the south end of the bridge so as to command the approaches to it from the north side, the other he prepares to use in attacking the train lying just outside the town to the southwest, and towards which he moves. His unexpected approach has thrown teamsters and camp-followers into great confusion. The trains are moving out from their park and taking the Staunton road. A few minutes more of unimpeded advance and the Federal cavalry would have produced a general stampede of the trains. But this was not to be. A small company of disabled soldiers acted as guard at headquarters. Some fifteen or twenty of them are at hand, and are quickly placed at the angle where the road emerges from the village into the fields containing the trains. A piece of Carrington's battery is brought a few yards and placed so as to rake the main street of the village. Some of the Federal troopers reach the angle of the road, and a volley from the guard checks them. Before they have time to recover a charge from Carrington's gun is poured into the rear of the column along the main street. The movement is checked; the Federal cavalry seek the middle of the village. Meantime, Jackson has reached the troops nearest the bridge on the north side. Three batteries are instantly ordered to the brow of the terrace overlooking the river. Taliaferro's brigade, of Winder's division, is the nearest infantry; Gen. Taliaferro has them drawn up for inspection. Ordering them forward, Jackson places himself at the head of the leading regiment (Thirty-seventh Virginia, Col. Fulkerson) and the first of Poague's guns that is ready, and rushes at a double-quick towards the bridge. Poague is directed to engage with his piece the enemy's gun near the south end of the bridge. To avoid the line of artillery fire the Thirty-seventh regiment is directed to the north side of the road, and descends obliquely against the upper side of the bridge. At the word from Jackson, Poague fires a charge which disconcerts the enemy, then follows a volley from

⁴¹ Col. Crutchfield and Lieut. Willis. Crutchfield was left in the town as the Federals retreated. Willis was carried over the river and placed in care of a soldier, whom he captured in turn a few hours later and brought back with him.

the infantry and an immediate charge with the bayonet.⁴² In a moment the Federal gunners are down, their gun is captured, and the bridge is again in Jackson's possession. The Confederates have lost two men wounded, and the Federals their chance of destroying the bridge. Carroll, seeing himself attacked from both ends of the village, rides out of it as rapidly as he had entered it. He re-fords South river, abandons another piece of artillery to the Confederates, and soon meets his infantry advancing to his support.⁴³ But the Confederate batteries (Wooding's Poague's, Carpenter's) are now in position on the bluff on the north side, and they rain fire so on all the approaches to the town and bridge from the south and east side that any further attempt is futile, and Carroll's whole force is obliged to retreat. To avoid the galling fire they move out some distance towards the

⁴² A pretty story has been often told about the recapture of this bridge, in which Jackson, cut off from his troops, and on the Port Republic side, is made to ride up to the Federal artillery officer and order his gun forward. For a moment the officer is deceived, and prepares to obey, while Jackson, taking advantage of the confusion, spurs his horse forward and crosses the bridge unharmed by the shots fired after him. The foundation for this story is thus given by Col. (then Capt.) W. T. Poague, in a letter dated February 25, 1879: "I recollect well the incident you ask about. Gen. Jackson finding one of my guns ready to move, directed me to hasten with it towards Port Republic, he himself going along and posting it in the field overlooking and commanding the bridge. I was surprised to see a gun posted at the farther end of the bridge. For I had just come from army headquarters, and, although I had met a cavalryman who told me the enemy were advancing up the river, still I did not think it possible they could have gotten any guns into the place in so short a time. It thereupon occurred to me that the gun at the bridge might be one of Carrington's, who was on that side and whose men had new uniforms something like those we saw at the bridge. Upon suggesting this to the general, he reflected a moment, and then riding a few paces to the left and front of our piece, he called, in a tone loud enough to be heard by them, 'Bring that gun up here;' but getting no reply, he raised himself in his stirrups and in a most authoritative and seemingly angry tone he shouted, 'Bring that gun up here, I say!' At this they began to move the trail of the gun so as to bring it to bear on us, which when the general perceived, he quickly turned to the officer in charge of my gun and said, in his sharp, quick way, 'Let 'em have it.' The words had scarcely left his lips when Lieut. Brown, who had his piece charged and aimed, sent a shot right among them, so disconcerting them that theirs in reply went far above us, and in a few minutes, seeing our infantry approaching, they left the place, and, as I was informed, abandoned their gun before crossing South river."

⁴³ Col. Carroll reports his loss on this occasion as 40 men, 2 guns and limbers, and 14 horses.

mountain before turning down the river. As Carroll moves toward Lewiston⁴⁴ the Confederate batteries follow, on the bluff, and continue to shell him until he is entirely out of range, some two and a half miles below. The whole affair has only occupied about an hour, and quiet once more replaces the noise of battle. To provide against any repetition of this attack, Jackson now stations Taliaferro's brigade in the village to hold the fords of South river, and places the "Stonewall" brigade on the north side of the main river, opposite Lewiston, to observe the enemy and impede by artillery any renewed advance. The remainder of Winder's division is held in reserve to assist Ewell if need be.⁴⁵

While these arrangements are being made the battle opens along Ewell's front. On Saturday evening Fremont had made a reconnoissance, and having found the Confederates in force near Cross Keys, gave orders for a general advance the next morning.⁴⁶ Gen. Ewell has selected for his position one of the

⁴⁴ The country-seat of the Lewis family.

⁴⁵ It was about the time of Carroll's repulse that Shields was despatching Fremont as follows:

"LURAY, June 8, 9½ A. M.

"I write by your scout. I think by this time there will be 12 pieces of artillery opposite Jackson's train at Port Republic, if he has taken that route. Some cavalry and artillery have pushed on to Waynesboro to burn the bridge. I hope to have two brigades at Port Republic to-day. I follow myself with two other brigades from this place. If the enemy changes direction you will please keep me advised. If he attempts to force a passage, as my force is not large there yet, I hope you will thunder down on his rear. Please send back information from time to time. I think Jackson is caught this time.

"Yours, etc.,

"JAS. SHIELDS.

"MAJ.-GEN. FREMONT."

⁴⁶ Gen. Fremont's column, June 8, moved as follows:

I. In advance: Cluseret's brigade of Sixtieth Ohio and Eighth Virginia infantry, reinforced by Thirty-ninth New York (Garibaldi Guard).

II. Main column, comprising:

1. Dickel's Fourth New York cavalry.

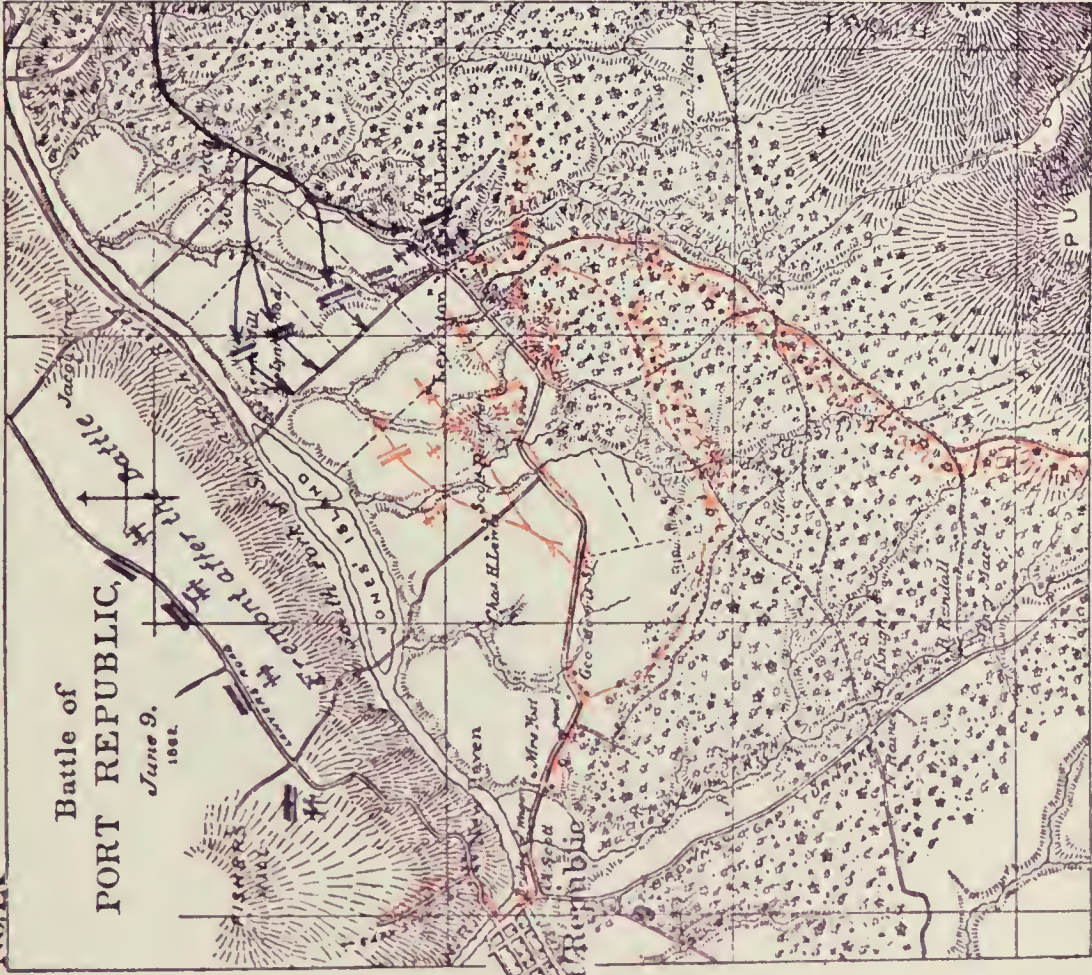
2. Stahl's brigade: Eighth, Forty-first, and Forty-fifth New York, and Twenty-seventh Pennsylvania infantry, and Dilger's, Buell's, and Schermer's batteries. (Kane's Bucktails reported to Stahl and fought with him.)

3. Bohlen's brigade: Fifty-fourth and Fifty-eighth New York and Seventy-fourth and Seventy-fifth Pennsylvania infantry, and Wiedrich's battery.

4. Milroy's brigade: Twenty-fifth Ohio and Second, Third, and

Battle of PORT REPUBLIC,

June 9,
1862.



Battle of CROSS KEYS

June 2,
1862.



ridges with which the country is filled, a short distance south of the Keezletown road. In front the ground declined rapidly to a small rivulet, and then rose into a lower parallel ridge, which was occupied by the Federals. The ridge held by Ewell was wooded, with cleared fields in front, especially opposite his centre.⁴⁷ It was crossed on his left by the Keezletown road, with the direction of which it makes nearly a right angle. The road from Harrisonburg to Port Republic crosses the ridge through the centre of the position held by Gen. Ewell. The Fifteenth Alabama infantry, Col. Canty, had been thrown out on picket, and while they were stubbornly resisting Fremont's advance, Ewell carefully disposed his troops along the ridge, placing the four batteries of Courtenay, Lusk, Brockenbrough, and Raines in the centre, near the Harrisonburg road, and near Mill Creek Dunkard church, and throwing Trimble's brigade to the right and Stuart's to the left, while Elzey was retained in rear of the centre as a reserve ready to reinforce either wing. The ridge at the point to which Gen. Trimble was ordered was heavily wooded, descended very abruptly to the creek, and was easily turned. Not deeming this position eligible, and seeing one half a mile to the right front which appeared better, Gen. Trimble was permitted to occupy it. The Twenty-first North Carolina regiment had been left to support Courtenay's guns, and the Sixteenth Mississippi, Col. Posey, and the Twenty-first Georgia, Col. Mercer, were now quickly transferred to the new position in advance, where they were soon joined by the remaining regiment of the brigade,—the Fifteenth Alabama, Col.

Fifth Virginia infantry, and Hyman's, Johnson's, and Ewing's batteries.

5. Schenck's brigade: Thirty-second, Seventy-third, Seventy-fifth, and Eighty-second Ohio infantry, and De Beck's and Rigby's batteries, and a small detachment of cavalry.

III. Rear guard following trains:

Steinwehr's brigade, under Col. Kolte: Twenty-ninth and Sixty-eighth New York and Seventy-third Pennsylvania infantry, and Dickmann's battery.

IV. Bayard's cavalry was left at Harrisonburg in charge of trains, but came forward later. (Fremont's report.)

⁴⁷ Gen. Ewell says: "The general features of the ground were a valley and rivulet in my front, woods on both flanks, and a field of some hundreds of acres, where the road crossed the centre of my line; my side of the valley being more defined and commanding the other." (Ewell's report.)

Canty. The latter regiment was placed on the extreme right of Trimble's line. This new position of Gen. Trimble was on a flat ridge, flanked on the right by a stream, while in front lay a narrow valley, from which, on the opposite side, rose a similar height occupied by the Federals. While these dispositions were being made on the right, Gen. George H. Steuart was posted on the Confederate left wing,⁴⁸ following the direction of the ridge from the batteries towards the west. His left flank approached the Keezletown road where it crosses the ridge, and was protected by heavy timber.

Fremont disposed his forces for attack as follows: Stahl's brigade (five regiments), of Blenker's division, was assigned to his left, opposite Trimble. Bohlen's brigade, of the same division, supported Stahl, while the remainder of Blenker's troops were held in reserve. Milroy, with five regiments, and Cluseret, with three, were sent against the Confederate centre, while Schenck, with five regiments, constituted Fremont's right, and was to operate against the Confederate left wing and flank. Batteries were placed on the spurs of the ridge in front of and parallel to that occupied by Gen. Ewell. For some time a spirited artillery fire was maintained between the opposing batteries, when, though Schenck was not yet in position, Fremont's left wing moved forward to the attack. Stahl's brigade advanced boldly

⁴⁸ Gen. Steuart had commanded temporarily the Second and Sixth Virginia cavalry at Winchester, but was subsequently returned to the command of the Maryland line, to which were added the Forty-fourth, Fifty-second, and Fifty-eighth Virginia regiments, in order to form a brigade.

Ewell's division was organized as follows on June 8 and 9:

Trimble's brigade:	Elzey's brigade:	G. H. Stewart's brigade:	Taylor's brigade: ¹
21st Georgia regt.	13th Virginia regt.	1st Maryland regt.	6th Louisiana regt.
21st N. Carolina regt.	25th " "	44th Virginia " "	7th " "
15th Alabama " "	31st " "	52d " "	8th " "
16th Mississippi " "	12th Georgia " "	58th " "	9th " "
			Wheat's battalion.

Artillery: Courtenay's, Brockenbrough's, Lusk's, Raines's, and Rice's batteries.

The organization of Jackson's (Winder's) division was the same as at Winchester (see page 206, note), with the addition of Carrington's battery. After the death of Ashby, Col. Munford became commander of the cavalry.

¹Not engaged on the 8th.

across the open space that separated them from Trimble, driving in his skirmishers. Trimble ordered the three regiments with him to "rest quietly in the edge of the open wood" until the enemy, after having crossed "the field and hollow, should come within fifty steps" of his line. Stahl continued to advance until he had come near enough to receive Trimble's fire. Then deadly volleys are poured in the faces of the Germans; their advance is at once checked, and in a few moments they waver and break. Their supports fail to come forward. Trimble orders an advance, and Stahl's troops are quickly driven down the hill, across the meadow, and into the woods from which they had advanced.⁴⁹ Here are the reserves on which they reform. The Confederates do not advance beyond the crest of the hill on which they are stationed, but, having driven the enemy out of the open space, remain in their position on the hill to await another attack. But the repulse has been too bloody to invite a speedy renewal. Trimble waits a short time, and, perceiving no indications of a new advance, determines to move against the enemy. On the extreme left of Fremont, and half a mile in front of the Confederates, is a battery which plays on them. Trimble moves out to his right, and, under cover of a ravine and the woods, approaches Blenker's flank. He is joined *en route* by Col. Walker, of Elzey's brigade, with two regiments (Thirteenth and Twenty-fifth Virginia). Walker moves on Trimble's right and tries to turn the Federal flank. Meanwhile, Trimble presses forward. In a few minutes the Federals retreat, taking off the battery which Trimble had hoped to capture. While this is doing, Walker, who has moved too far to the right, is met and staggered for the moment by a fierce fire of musketry and canister.⁵⁰ The confusion produced is, however, soon remedied. Walker presses forward, and Trimble throws his regiments once more on the Federal lines. The struggle is short and sharp, the Federals are forced to yield, the artillery limbers up and retires, and in a few minutes the whole Federal left wing is retreating towards the position near Union

⁴⁹ One of Stahl's regiments (Eighth New York) lost 65 in killed alone in this attack. (Fremont's report.)

⁵⁰ Gen Walker says this was in moving to the right of Ever's house and barn. (See Map No. VIII.)

church, on the Keezletown road, which it had held before the opening of the battle.⁵¹

Meantime, Milroy has advanced against the Confederate centre. A fierce artillery duel is here the principal feature of the contest. The Confederate batteries are well located, and in spite of loss of horses and men in some of them, keep up so spirited a fire that no serious attempt is made on this part of the line. The Federals drive in the Confederate skirmishers and feel the lines behind them, but there is no real attack. Thus, at the centre of the contending armies, the hours pass in which the fate of the day is being decided on Blenker's front.

⁵¹ In a letter to the author, dated February, 1880, Gen. Trimble thus describes the action on his front: ". . . The enemy had crossed the valley and were advancing gallantly up the slope towards Gen. Trimble's position, thus receiving the full fire of the two right regiments at about sixty paces distant. They wavered, and then fell back in disorder. . . . Then a charge was ordered, but before the men advanced over the crest of the ridge Gen. Trimble arrested it, as he saw the enemy reforming with supports on the opposite ridge. He waited twenty minutes for another attack, but as the enemy did not move, though formed to do so, he went to the right regiment, Col. Canty's, and marched it by the right flank to the right, as if moving from the field. When concealed by the woods the regiment was marched to the left, and gained, unobserved, the ridge occupied by the enemy at a point not over fifty paces from his left flank in the woods. Before making this flank movement Gen. Trimble had ordered the two regiments left on the ridge to charge across the valley as soon as they heard a brisk fire opened by Col. Canty. As soon as Col. Canty got into position he was ordered to charge. A sharp conflict of a few minutes ensued. The Twenty-first Georgia charged across the valley, followed by Col. Posey, with the Sixteenth Mississippi, when the enemy were driven back in front of our whole line. It was here that Col. Posey, in advancing, did not look to his left, and was attacked on his flank by a force which was stationed in the woods, throwing his regiment into some disorder. Col. Mercer, with much presence of mind and judgment, came to his aid with the Twenty-first Georgia, and, by a charge, drove off the enemy. Gen. Trimble then gave orders to charge a battery on a high plain, but by the time the Fifteenth Alabama reached the top of the hill the battery was moving off with precipitation. A few minutes before this Col. J. A. Walker, with the Thirteenth and Twenty-fifth Virginia regiments, had been sent over by Gen. Ewell, and was directed by Gen. Trimble to advance on the right of the Fifteenth Alabama. Col. Walker, passing too far to the right, was observed by a battery, and for a few moments was under a warm fire; but his troops gallantly advanced, and as the battery drove off rapidly we saw the infantry force in full retreat towards the Keezletown road. Thus the enemy's force in front of our right was driven by three successive charges from the field to a mile in rear of their first position. . . ."

Schenck is last to take his post in the Federal line. He arrives on the field at 1 P. M., and moves in rear and to the right of Milroy, to take position to attack the Confederate left. Unacquainted with the ground he proceeds cautiously, and it is some time before he secures an eligible position for his troops. This movement is marked by artillery firing and some skirmishing, the Federals driving back a part of the Forty-fourth Virginia regiment of Stuart's brigade, and being in turn checked by its supports. Gen. Ewell, seeing the movement of troops towards his left, strengthens his line there with the part of Elzey's brigade⁵² yet in reserve, and subsequently sends Patton's brigade and two regiments of Taylor's⁵³ to extend his line on the same flank. This delays Schenck's aggressive movements, and before he is ready to attack in earnest the battle has been decided by the defeat of Blenker, and Fremont, alarmed by the disaster on his left wing, orders both centre and right to withdraw. Ewell, conscious of his inferiority of force,⁵⁴ and anticipating an attack from Schenck on his left, has been content with the advantages already gained until his enemy's purposes are developed. As the Federal right and centre withdraw he follows, pushing forward his skirmishers and occupying the ground in front of the field. Night is at hand, however, and Gen. Ewell decides to bivouac in the position he holds rather than risk a night attack on the enemy.⁵⁵

Thus ends the battle of "Cross Keys." Ewell has repulsed Fremont so decisively on one wing as to paralyze his army and

⁵² Twelfth Georgia and Thirty-first Virginia.

⁵³ Seventh and Eighth Louisiana. Patton and Taylor had been sent up from Port Republic to reinforce Gen. Ewell. Patton was in command of Campbell's brigade (Second of Jackson's division), and had but about 800 men for duty. (See Dabney.)

⁵⁴ Ewell's force was less than 5,000 in the morning. Patton added 800 and Taylor possibly 2,500 more. The latter was not engaged. Fremont reports his force present at over 11,000, but, as already said, his returns show a much larger number.

⁵⁵ Trimble earnestly urged a night attack, but Ewell decided against it. (Trimble's report.) Ewell says: "I did not push my success at once, because I had no cavalry, and it was reported and reaffirmed by Lieut. Hinrichs topographical engineer, sent to reconnoitre, that the enemy was moving a large column two miles to my left. As soon as I could determine this not to be an attack I advanced both my wings, drove in the enemy's skirmishers, and when night closed was in position on the ground previously held by the enemy, ready to attack him at dawn." (Ewell's report.)

to secure all the advantages of victory. This has been done too with but a small part of the total force at command. The losses are greatly disproportioned. Ewell's total loss is two hundred and eighty-seven (287).⁵⁶ That of Fremont is six hundred and sixty-four (664) (of which four hundred and twenty-seven (427) are in Stahl's brigade), by letter dated June 9, from his headquarters, to the Cincinnati "Commercial."⁵⁷

During this engagement the advance force of Gen. Shields continued quiet on the east side of the river. Col Carroll remained in the position beyond Lewiston, to which he had retired in the morning, and from which he could observe, but not attack, the Confederate batteries on the northwest bank of the river. Here he was joined by Gen. Tyler with his brigade about 2 P. M.⁵⁸ The latter deemed the combined force still too small and the Confederate position too strong to admit of an aggressive movement.⁵⁹ Hence no diversion in favor of Fremont was made.

Jackson, emboldened by the inactivity of Shields's advance, and the easy repulse of Fremont, conceived the audacious design of attacking his two opponents in succession the next day, with the hope of overwhelming them separately. For this purpose he directed that during the night a temporary bridge, composed simply of planks laid upon the running-gear of wagons, should be constructed over the South river at Port Republic, and ordered Winder to move his brigade at dawn across both rivers and against Shields. Ewell was directed to leave Trimble's brigade and part of Patton's to hold Fremont in check, and to move at an early hour to Port Republic to follow Winder. Taliaferro's brigade was left in charge of the batteries along the river, and to protect Trimble's retreat if necessary. The force left in Fremont's front was directed to make all the show possible, and to delay the Federal advance to the extent of its power. The Con-

⁵⁶ Ewell's report.

⁵⁷ Probably written by one of Gen. Schenck's staff, Capt. Piatt. It does not include the loss in Von Steinwehr's brigade or in the cavalry. ("Rebellion Record," vol. v. p. 109.) The "Medical and Surgical History of the War" reports Fremont's loss in killed and wounded (without prisoners) as 625.

⁵⁸ Gen. Tyler says he had about 3,000 infantry and 16 guns. Gen. Shields puts this brigade at 2,500.

⁵⁹ Tyler's report. "Rebellion Record," vol. v.

federate commander proposed, in case of an easy victory over Shields in the morning, to return to the Harrisonburg side of the river and attack Fremont in the afternoon.⁶⁰ In case, however, of delay, and a vigorous advance on Fremont's part, Trimble was to retire by the bridge into Port Republic, and burn it to prevent his antagonist from following.

Jackson superintended in person the construction of the foot-bridge over South river, and before five o'clock in the morning Winder was already crossing. Next followed Taylor, and with these two brigades, separated as they were by a considerable interval, Jackson moved at once against the Federal troops at Lewiston, leaving orders for the remaining troops to follow as rapidly as possible. The foot-bridge was defective, and a good deal of time was lost in getting the troops over. Jackson, impatient of delay, without waiting for the remainder of his forces, ordered an attack upon Tyler as soon as Winder had reached the vicinity of the Federals.

The position occupied by Gen. Tyler was an admirable one, on the second terrace from the Shenandoah. His centre was near Gen. Lewis's house, his right extending through the open fields

⁶⁰ "It has been already explained that he did not arrest the pursuit of Fremont at once by burning the bridge across the Shenandoah, because he was unwilling to deprive himself of the ability to take the aggressive against that general. He now formed the bold purpose to concentrate his army and fight both Shields and him, successively, the same day. Hence his eagerness to begin his attack on the former at an early hour. Stronger evidence of this design will be given. During the night he held an interview with Col. Patton, commanding the Second brigade, which he then proposed to employ as a rear guard to cover the withdrawal of Gen. Ewell's forces from the front of Fremont. This officer found him at two o'clock in the morning of the 9th actively engaged in making his dispositions for battle. He immediately proceeded to give him particular instructions as to the management of his men in covering the rear, saying: 'I wish you to throw out all your men if necessary as skirmishers, and to make a great show, so as to cause the enemy to think the whole army are behind you. Hold your position as well as you can, then fall back when obliged; take a new position; hold it in the same way; and *I will be back to join you in the morning.*' Col. Patton reminded him that his brigade was small, and that the country between Cross Keys and the Shenandoah offered few advantages for protracting such manoeuvres. He therefore desired to know for how long a time he would be expected to hold the army of Fremont in check. He replied: 'By the blessing of Providence I hope to be back by ten o'clock.'" (Dabney.)

towards the river, while his left rested in the dense wood east of the main road, at the site of an old coal-pit. The ground held by the left and centre was elevated, and commanded all the available approaches from Port Republic. Especially was this the case on his left, which was the key to the whole position. Here he had six guns planted.⁶¹ A dense and almost impenetrable forest protected this flank, and made all direct approach to it difficult, while the batteries there placed covered a large part of the front, and enfiladed Winder's advance. In this position Gen. Tyler disposed his force. He seems, though on the alert, not to have been aware⁶² of Jackson's rapid approach until the latter was deploying in his front, but he was altogether ready to meet the attack.

Winder deployed his skirmishers, and advancing on both sides of the road, drove in the outposts. He soon found that the Federal batteries commanded the road and its vicinity completely. Jackson then directed him to send a force to his right through the woods to turn the Federal left flank. Two regiments under Col. J. W. Allen (Second and Fourth Virginia)⁶³ were detached for this purpose with two guns of Carpenter's. At the same time he placed two guns of Poague's battery on the west of the road, supporting them by the Twenty-seventh Virginia (Col. Grigsby) and the Fifth Virginia (Col. Funk), the remainder of his brigade present.⁶⁴ Allen made his way with great difficulty through the dense thickets opposite the Federal left until he reached the vicinity of the hostile battery. Here he found two regiments of infantry sent by Tyler to support the guns, and in a short time two more regiments reinforced them. Carpenter was unable to get his guns through the brush, and Allen's infantry,

⁶¹ Three guns of Clark's and three of Huntington's batteries. One of Robinson's was near. (Daum's report. Col. Daum was chief of artillery for Gen. Shields.)

⁶² Tyler's report, "Rebellion Record," vol. v. His force consisted of the Eighty-fourth and One Hundred and Tenth Pennsylvania and Sixty-sixth Ohio on his left, and of the First Virginia, Seventh Indiana, and Fifth, Seventh, and Twenty-ninth Ohio on the right, and of a detachment of the First Virginia cavalry, and 16 guns.

⁶³ The Fourth numbered 317, and the Second 224, rank and file, by the regimental reports.

⁶⁴ The Thirty-third Virginia, under Col. Neff, having been on picket duty the night before, did not rejoin the brigade until the battle was virtually over.

unable of itself to make headway against the foe, and subjected to a heavy fire of musketry and canister, was soon thrown into confusion and forced to retire. Meantime, Poague's guns on the west of the road had drawn on them a heavy fire. Gen. Winder finds it necessary to separate them. One is sent some distance to the left, into the low grounds, and Funk's regiment (Fifth Virginia) goes to support it. The enemy soon makes dispositions to meet this movement.⁶⁵ Two guns of Clark's and two of Huntington's battery (Federal) are placed in position to reply to Poague. The Seventh Indiana and the Twenty-ninth and Seventh Ohio are sent to check the attack on the Federal right wing. Poague has tried in vain to find a good position for his guns; there is nothing to be done unless the enemy are driven from theirs. Winder, with less than twelve hundred (1200) men,⁶⁶ finds himself unable to cope with the force before him, and seeing signs of an aggressive movement against his left near the river, sends to Jackson for reinforcements. The latter is hurrying them forward as fast as possible. Hays's Seventh Louisiana regiment is sent to the left, and placed between Funk (Fifth Virginia) and Grigsby (Twenty-seventh Virginia), while the whole of Poague's and the section of Carpenter's battery that had returned from its fruitless attempt with Allen are placed to aid a forward movement by the Confederate left. At the same time that Hays is sent to reinforce the left, Jackson sends the mass of Taylor's brigade to make a detour through the woods on the Confederate right, and renew the attack in which Allen had failed. It requires some time for Taylor to get through the thicket into position, and while he is moving, Winder has ordered the Confederate left wing to advance and carry the enemy's position with the bayonet. The three regiments (Funk's, Hays's, and Grigsby's) moved forward in fine style, and the artillery follows closely. The Seventh Indiana regiment, which is on the extreme Federal right, is forced back a

⁶⁵ Tyler's report.

⁶⁶ Strength of his four regiments now in action: Twenty-seventh Virginia, 150; Fifth Virginia, 447; Second Virginia, 224; Fourth Virginia, 317; total, rank and file, 1,138.

Gen. Tyler says the Federal forces "could not have exceeded 3,000 men."

short distance, but soon reinforced by the Twenty-ninth, Seventh, and Fifth Ohio, the Federals, having the advantage of the terrace, hold their position and receive Winder's troops with a storm of musketry and shell. A most determined and stubborn conflict now takes place. The Ohio troops repel every attempt to drive them back, while the Confederates continue for a time their efforts under a storm of fire. At last the Confederates begin to waver and break. The Thirty-first Virginia regiment (Elzey's brigade) reaches Winder at this moment. Using it to cover his guns, Winder orders them to the rear, and tries to form his line again. Stopping one of Poague's guns, he turns it on the advancing enemy, and for a moment checks the disorder. But it is only for a moment; the enemy dash forward; the horses are shot down at the gun, and the Fifth Ohio, charging, drive back the half-formed Confederates across a wheat field and seize the piece, which they carry off. Steuart's and Elzey's brigades⁶⁷ are next to Taylor's in reaching the battle-field. One regiment of Steuart's (Fifty-second Virginia) is sent to aid Winder, but arrives only in time to be involved in his repulse. Two others (Forty-fourth and Fifty-eighth Virginia) are stationed near the main road, in the wood, and are under Gen. Ewell's own eye. As the Federals advance to drive Winder, they expose their flank, and Ewell leads these two regiments forward. They make a vigorous dash on the enemy, drive him some distance, and, though in turn driven back to the woods, the result of the diversion is to check the farther advance against Winder, and give the latter an opportunity to rally a part of his troops, and to place two of Poague's guns where they had been before the Confederate advance.

Jackson, finding the resistance of the enemy so much more stubborn than he had expected, and that his first attacks had failed, determined to concentrate his whole force and give up all intention of recrossing the river. He therefore sent orders to Trimble and Taliaferro to leave Fremont's front, move over

⁶⁷ Elzey's brigade, except the Thirty-first Virginia, was sent under Col. Walker to the right to help Gen. Taylor, but became lost in the woods, and only arrived at the proper point after the enemy had been broken.

the bridge, burn it, and join the main body of the army as speedily as possible.

Meantime, Taylor has been moving as rapidly as the tangled forest would permit towards the Federal left. He reaches the point of attack at the time that the loud shouts of the Federals proclaim their success on the other wing. The infantry supporting the six guns that had played so important a part in the battle had been partly withdrawn to reinforce the troops engaged with Winder,⁶⁸ and before they can be returned to their former place Taylor has charged and taken the battery. Most stubborn, however, has been the resistance, and so soon as reinforcements can be hurried over from the other wing, where the repulse of Winder relieves the Federals for a time, Taylor is in turn attacked, and his brave Louisianians are forced to yield the ground they had won. Once more the guns are in Federal possession. They attempt to carry them out of danger, but the horses are killed, and the removal requires time. One piece is gotten off, but before any more can be removed Taylor renews the charge. Ewell leads the two regiments under Col. Scott, which had so opportunely checked the pursuit of Winder, to Taylor's assist-

⁶⁸ "Additional reinforcements of the enemy were coming up on our right, having abandoned their position on the left, and I ordered the Eighty-fourth and One Hundred and Tenth (Pennsylvania) down to the right, but before they reached the position assigned them the enemy was in full retreat before our brave men, and I at once ordered them back into the wood again. Under cover of the engagement on our right the enemy had thrown another force into the woods, and pressed them down upon our batteries on the left. So rapid was this movement that they passed the line on which the Eighty-fourth and One Hundred and Tenth were ordered, unobserved, making a dash upon the battery so sudden and unexpected as to compel the cannoneers to abandon their pieces.

"Col. Candy met the enemy with his regiment with great coolness, his men fighting with commendable bravery. The Seventh and Fifth Ohio were soon supporting him, driving the enemy from their position and retaking the battery. The artillery officers made a strong effort, and used great exertions to remove their guns, but, the horses having been killed or disabled, found it impossible. The enemy had given way along the whole line, but I saw heavy reinforcements crossing from the town that would have been impossible for us to resist. After consulting Gen. Carroll, I ordered the troops to fall back under his direction, with a view of retreating until we should meet the reinforcements of Gens. Kimball and Terry." (Tyler's report, "Rebellion Record.")

ance. Winder renews the attack from his wing with Poague's guns; Chew's battery arrives and is placed in front, and with guns from the batteries of Brockenbrough, Raines, and Courtenay, opens on the enemy. Once more Taylor, thus aided, carries the position. The Federals have made a most gallant fight, both with the guns and to save them, but they cannot resist the combined attack now made. They are pushed back at every point, and are soon in full retreat. Not a moment too soon have they yielded the field, for the remainder of Jackson's force is arriving, and in a short time they must have been entirely overwhelmed. Taliaferro, who had just reached the field, is sent with Winder in pursuit. They press the retreating enemy in a confused mass for several miles,⁶⁹ and then hand over the pursuit to the cavalry under Munford, who follow for three miles more. About four hundred and fifty prisoners, a few wagons, one piece of abandoned artillery (in addition to the five captured by Taylor in his final charge), and eight hundred muskets are the trophies of the pursuit. Some two hundred and seventy-five of the Federal wounded are paroled in the hospitals near the battle-field.⁷⁰ About two hundred others are carried off.⁷¹

Jackson's losses were, killed, wounded, and missing, in Taylor's brigade, 290; Winder's, 199; Steuart's, 199; Elzey's, 128; total, 816. The official reports in the adjutant-general's office make the Federal loss 66 killed, 382 wounded, 382 missing; total, 830. In the "Medical and Surgical History of the War" they are stated as 67 killed, 361 wounded, 574 missing; total, 1002.⁷²

⁶⁹ Col. Carroll, who covered the Federal rear, says: "As soon as we commenced the retreat the enemy turned and opened upon us portions of Clark's and Huntington's batteries that they had taken from us on the left, which threw the rear of our column in great disorder, causing them to take to the woods and making it, for the earlier part of the retreat, apparently a rout. . . . Their cavalry also charged upon our rear, increasing the confusion."

⁷⁰ Jackson's report.

⁷¹ On June 13, Surgeon Cox telegraphed the Federal surgeon-general that 180 of the wounded of Shields's division had just arrived at Front Royal. Surgeon Stidger, one of the surgeons in charge, puts the number at "perhaps 200." (Report on Conduct of the War, Part III., 1863, p. 493, etc.)

⁷² In the series of engagements on the 6th, 8th, and 9th of June, the losses were:

During the forenoon Fremont had advanced against Trimble on the north side of the river, and was driving him slowly back, when the latter was ordered to rejoin Jackson at Lewiston. He, with Taliaferro, then withdrew as rapidly as possible, crossed the bridge without loss, and succeeded in burning it in the face of the advancing Federals. Fremont's army arrived on the heights overlooking Lewiston only in time to witness the retreat of Tyler, and were prevented by the river from giving him any assistance. In the afternoon Fremont placed some batteries in position, and shelled the parties engaged in attending to the wounded on the field.⁷³

The Confederate trains had been moved in the course of the day across South river towards Brown's gap, and during the afternoon and night the weary Confederates returned from the battle-field and pursuit, to camp in the cove at the foot of this mountain-pass. It was midnight before some of them lay down in the rain to rest.

Thus the day ended with the complete defeat of the two brigades under Tyler. Most gallant and determined had been

Confederate.			Federal.		
On June 6	.	70	On June 6	over 155	
" 8	.	287	" 8	704 (including Carroll's)	
" 9	.	816	" 9 (say)	916	
<hr/>			<hr/>		
1173			1775		

⁷³ Jackson's report. Fremont thus describes the scene when he reached the heights overlooking the field from which Tyler had been driven: "The battle which had taken place upon the farther bank of the river was wholly at an end. A single brigade sent forward by Gen. Shields" (there were two, Tyler's and Carroll's) "had been simply cut to pieces. Col. Carroll in command had for his own reasons failed to burn the bridge, though occupying it in time with his guards. Jackson hastening across had fallen upon the inferior force, and the result was before us. Of the bridge nothing remained but the charred and smoking timbers. Beyond, at the edge of the woods, a body of the enemy's troops was in position, and a baggage-train was disappearing in a pass among the hills. Parties gathering the dead and wounded, together with a line of prisoners awaiting the movements of the rebel force near by, was all in respect to troops of either side now to be seen. A parting salvo of carefully aimed rifled guns duly charged with shell hastened the departure of the rebels, with their unlucky though most gallant convoy, and the whole were speedily out of sight." (Fremont's report.) In returning from the battle-field to Brown's gap, Jackson took a road through the forest and away from the river to avoid Fremont's guns.

their resistance, and Jackson's impetuosity had made his victory more costly than it otherwise would have been. In sending in Winder's brigade before its supports arrived, he had hurled this body of troops against more than twice their number. Taylor next attacked, but the repulse of Winder enabled the Federal commander to concentrate his forces against Taylor and drive him from the battery he had taken. It was then that Jackson renewed the attack with the combined forces of three brigades, and speedily forced the enemy from the field. Had he attacked with this force at first, it is probable that one charge would have given him the victory at less cost of life.

Next day the Confederates rested in camp. Exhausted nature demanded repose, and Jackson now gave it to his tired and battle-worn troops. His enemies were effectually disposed of. Shields, who had advanced to support Tyler, when the broken and defeated brigades rejoined him,⁷⁴ decided to return by the route by which he had moved forward. Orders from McDowell, sent on this day, caused him to continue his retreat to Luray and Front Royal,⁷⁵ whence he was moved to Manassas to rejoin McDowell's corps. Fremont, influenced by his own repulse, the disaster sustained by Shields, and the retreat of the latter, retired from the vicinity of Port Republic on the morning of the 10th. On the 11th, Munford, with the Confederate cavalry, once more crossed the Shenandoah, and followed the retreating army. Camping at Mount Crawford on the night of the 11th, he

⁷⁴ Shields says he marched on the night of the 8th, and, reaching Conrad's Store on the morning of the 9th, learned that Tyler was within two miles of Port Republic. He pressed forward as fast as he could, and some miles in advance of Conrad's met the routed and flying brigades.

⁷⁵ Gen. Shields is disposed to attribute his immediate retreat from Conrad's Store not to the defeat of Tyler, but to Gen. McDowell's positive orders to return. He says he desired, in co-operation with Fremont, to again attack Jackson, and anticipated success in such an attempt. McDowell's orders hardly bear Gen. Shields's interpretation. On June 9, McDowell's chief of staff wrote: "If, however, you are in hot pursuit and about to fall on the enemy, and can do so with reasonable chances of success without relying on the troops at Front Royal, who are too far in rear to support you in your extended movements, the general is not disposed to recall you. . . ." Gen. McDowell says: "Both the condition of Gen. Shields's division and that of the roads and rivers as represented by him indicated anything than the success he anticipated."

next day moved into Harrisonburg, which Fremont had evacuated, leaving two hundred wounded in the hospitals, some medicine and other stores, and about two hundred muskets. Fremont continued his retreat on the 11th and 12th. "Significant demonstrations of the enemy," as Gen. Fremont expresses it, caused him to withdraw farther, and on the 14th of June he joined Banks and Sigel⁷⁶ at Middletown. Banks and Sigel had not advanced beyond Middletown while Fremont and Shields were pursuing Jackson.

Jackson, on the 12th, moved out from his confined bivouac at the foot of Brown's gap, and, crossing the South river near Weyer's cave, camped in the noble, park-like forest between the latter place and Mount Meridian.⁷⁷ Here for five days of that splendid June he rested and refreshed his army. He says: "For the purpose of rendering thanks to God for having crowned our arms with success, and to implore his continued favor, divine service was held in the army on the 14th.

"The army remained near Weyer's cave until the 17th, when, in obedience to instructions from the commanding general of the department, it moved towards Richmond."⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Gen. Sigel had superseded Gen. Saxton in command of the forces gathered at Harper's Ferry to oppose Jackson.

⁷⁷ Dr. Dabney thus speaks of this camp: "The troops were encamped in a range of woodland groves between the two rivers, surrounded with the verdure of early summer and the luxuriant wheat-fields whitening to the harvest. In this smiling paradise they solaced themselves five days for their fatigues, the men reposing under the shade or bathing in the sparkling waters of the Shenandoah, and the horses feeding in the abundant pastures. The Saturday following the battle was proclaimed by Gen. Jackson as a day of thanksgiving and prayer, and all the troops were called to join with their general and their chaplains in praises to God for his deliverances. The next day a general communion was observed in the Third Virginia brigade, at which the Lord's Supper was dispensed, in the wood, to a great company of Christian soldiers from all the army. At this solemnity the general was present as a worshipper, and modestly participated with his men in the sacred feast. The quiet diffidence with which he took the least obtrusive place and received the sacred elements from the hands of a regimental chaplain was in beautiful contrast with the majesty and authority of his bearing in the crisis of battle."

⁷⁸ Jackson's report. Gen. Lee (now in immediate command of the Confederate forces in Virginia, in consequence of the wounding of Gen. J. E. Johnston on May 31) wrote to Jackson as follows on June 8: "Your letter of the 6th has been received. I congratulate you upon

His order of June 13 to his troops is as follows: "The fortitude of the troops under fatigue and their valor in action have again, under the blessing of Divine Providence, placed it in the power of the commanding general to congratulate them upon the victories of June 8 and 9. Beset on both flanks by two boastful armies, you have escaped their toils, inflicting successively crushing blows upon each of your pursuers. Let a few more such efforts be made, and you may confidently hope that our beautiful Valley will be cleansed from the pollution of the invader's presence. The major-general commanding invites you to observe to-morrow evening, June 14, from 3 o'clock P. M., as a season of thanksgiving, by a suspension of all military exercises, and by holding divine service in the several regiments."

The battles of Cross Keys and Port Republic closed the Valley campaign of 1862. Just three months had passed since Jackson, with about four thousand six hundred (4600) troops, badly armed and equipped, had fallen back from Winchester before the advance of Banks with thirty thousand (30,000) men. So feeble seemed his force, and so powerless for offence, that when it had been pushed forty miles to the rear, Banks began to send his force towards Manassas to execute his part of "covering the Federal capital" in McClellan's great campaign. While a large part of the Federal troops are on the march out of the Valley, and their commander is himself *en route* from Winchester to Washington, Jackson, hastening from his resting-place by a forced march, appears most unexpectedly at Kernstown, and

defeating and then avoiding your enemy. Your march to Winchester has been of great advantage, and has been conducted with your accustomed skill and boldness. I hope you will be able to rest and refresh your troops for a few days before compelled to enter upon active service. I desire you to report the probable intentions of the enemy and what steps you can take to thwart them. Should there be nothing requiring your attention in the Valley so as to prevent your leaving it a few days, and you can make arrangements to deceive the enemy and impress him with the idea of your presence, please let me know, that you may unite at the decisive moment with the army near Richmond. Make your arrangements accordingly; but should an opportunity occur for striking the enemy a successful blow do not let it escape you."

When this letter reached its destination the "blow" had been "struck," and Jackson was free to join Lee.

hurls his little army with incredible force and fury against the part of Banks's army which is yet behind. He is mistaken as to the number of the enemy. Three thousand five hundred (3500) men, worn by a forced march, are not able to defeat the seven thousand (7000) of Shields. After a fierce struggle he suffers a severe repulse; but he makes such an impression as to cause the recall of Banks and his corps, and to lead to the detachment of a strong force from McClellan to protect Washington. The Federal administration cannot believe that he has attacked Shields with a handful of men.

Falling back before his pursuers to New Market, and thence to Harrisonburg, he there leaves the main road, and crossing over to Elk Run valley, at the foot of the Blue Ridge, he takes a position in which he cannot be readily attacked, and which yet enables him so to threaten the flank of his opponent as effectually to check his further progress up the Valley. Here he gains ten days' time for the reorganization of his regiments, the time of service of most of which expired in April, and here, too, he finds that the return of furloughed men and the accession of volunteers in the past month has doubled his numbers.

Finding that no more troops could be obtained besides those of Ewell and Edward Johnson, he leaves the former to hold Banks in check, while he makes a rapid and circuitous march, by way of Port Republic and across the mountains at Brown's gap, to Mechum's River station, on the Virginia Central railroad. Hence he goes *via* Staunton to Gen. Edward Johnson's position at West View. Uniting Johnson's force with his own, he appears suddenly in front of Milroy at McDowell, only eight days after having left Elk Run valley. He has marched a hundred miles and crossed the Blue Ridge twice in this time, and now repulses Milroy and Schenck, and follows them up to Franklin. Then finding Fremont within supporting distance, he, on May 12, begins to retrace his steps. He hastens on through Harrisonburg, New Market, Luray,—Ewell joining him on the road and swelling his force to sixteen thousand (16,000) men,—and on May 23 unexpectedly appears at Front Royal (a distance by his route of nearly one hundred and twenty miles from Franklin)

and surprises and completely overwhelms the force Banks has stationed there. Next day he strikes with damaging effect at Banks's retreating column between Strasburg and Winchester, and follows him up all the night. At dawn (May 25) he attacks him on the heights of Winchester, forces him from his position, and drives him in confusion and dismay to the Potomac, with the loss of immense stores and a large number of prisoners. Resting but two days, Jackson marches to Harper's Ferry, threatens an invasion of Maryland, and spreads such an alarm as to paralyze the movement of McDowell's forty thousand (40,000) men at Fredericksburg, and to cause the attempted concentration of the greater part of this force, together with Fremont's command, in his rear. The militia of the adjoining States is called out. Troops are hurried to Harper's Ferry in his front. Nearly sixty thousand (60,000) troops in all, are hastening under the most urgent telegrams to close in around him. Keeping up his demonstrations until the last moment, until, indeed, the head of McDowell's column was already crossing the Blue Ridge, and but twelve or fourteen miles from his line of retreat, at a point nearly fifty miles in his rear, he, by a forced march of a day and a half, traverses this distance of fifty miles and places himself at Strasburg. Here he keeps Fremont at bay until his long train of prisoners and captured stores has passed through in safety and his rear guard closed up. Then he falls back before Fremont, while by burning successively the bridges over the Main Fork of the Shenandoah, he destroys all co-operation between his two pursuers. Arrived at a point when he thinks there is no further need for retreat, he turns off from Harrisonburg to Port Republic, seizes the only bridge left south of Front Royal over the Shenandoah, and takes a position which enables him to fight his adversaries in succession, while they cannot succor each other. By wonderful celerity and daring, he has extricated himself from the dangers which a week before gathered around him at Winchester. Then, nearly sixty thousand (60,000) men were encircling him. In a day or two he must have been overwhelmed. Now he has left the great mass of these troops fifty miles in the rear. Fremont alone is for the moment within reach. Jackson

deals him a staggering blow, and next morning, withdrawing suddenly from his front and destroying the bridge to prevent his following, attacks the advance brigades of Shields and completely defeats them, driving them several miles from the battle-field.

With a force at no time exceeding seventeen thousand (17,000) men Jackson has beaten all his adversaries in succession, and, though they so largely exceeded him in strength, he has managed everywhere, except at Kernstown, to concentrate equal or superior numbers upon the point attacked. Thus at McDowell he throws double their force on Milroy and Schenck. When he leaves Fremont's front at Franklin, on May 12, he is much farther from Banks at Strasburg than any of the large bodies of Federal troops at Fredericksburg or around Washington, and yet he succeeds in overwhelming Banks with greatly superior numbers. Again, when he has completely outmarched the armies which attempt to surround him and turns at bay at Port Republic, he is ready to receive Fremont's attack with equal forces, and next day can concentrate two or three times their own strength against Shields's brigades, if it be necessary.

Now followed a week of rest, the first since the army had left Swift Run gap on the 30th of April. But to the indefatigable commander it was but a week of preparation for another series of great deeds on a different theatre. The great soldier who at this time commanded the Confederate armies had already (see note, page 287, Lee's letter, June 8) informed Jackson of the intended union of his forces with those near Richmond. On the 11th of June, in congratulating him on his recent successes, Gen. Lee informs him that Lawton's and Whiting's commands had been sent to his assistance, but at the same time directs that Jackson move rapidly with the whole force to Ashland, and thence between the Chickahominy and Pamunky rivers, on McClellan's communications.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ Gen. Lee's letter is as follows:

"HEADQUARTERS NEAR RICHMOND,
"June 11.

"MAJ.-GEN. JACKSON, ETC.:—Your recent successes have been the cause of the liveliest joy in this army as well as in the country. The admiration excited by your skill and boldness has been constantly

Every precaution was taken to deceive the enemy and produce on their part the expectation of an advance along the Valley in stronger force than before. Whiting's and Lawton's troops were sent from Richmond for this purpose, and Jackson manœuvred his cavalry so as to create the same impression. The prisoners sent to Richmond by Jackson met the reinforcements coming up. The paroled Federal officers soon carried this news to Washington, while Federal spies confirmed it. An amusing *ruse-de-guerre* of Col. Munford, commanding the cavalry, upon receiving a flag of truce from Gen. Fremont asking for his wounded, strengthened the impression. The Federal officers bearing the flag were brought to Col. Munford's quarters, and while awaiting an answer from Gen. Jackson it was arranged that they should overhear a pretended report, brought to the colonel by Mr. W. W. Gilmer, who assumed the *role* of orderly, in which the road from Staunton was represented as being filled

mingled with solicitude for your situation. The practicability of reinforcing you has been the subject of earnest consideration. It has been determined to do so at the expense of weakening this army. Brig-Gen. Lawton, with six regiments from Georgia, is on the way to you, and Brig-Gen. Whiting, with eight veteran regiments, leaves here to-day. The object is to enable you to crush the forces opposed to you. Leave your enfeebled troops to watch the country and guard the passes covered by your cavalry and artillery, and with your main body, including Ewell's division and Lawton's and Whiting's commands, move rapidly to Ashland by rail or otherwise as you may find more advantageous, sweep down between the Chickahominy and Pamunkey rivers, cutting up the enemy's communications, etc., while this army attacks Gen. McClellan in front. He will thus, I think, be forced to come out of his entrenchments, where he is strongly posted on the Chickahominy, and apparently preparing to move by gradual approaches on Richmond. Keep me advised of your movements, and if practicable precede your troops, that we may confer and arrange for simultaneous attack.

"R. E. LEE."

On June 16, Gen. Lee again wrote:

"I have received your letter by the Hon. Mr. Boteler. I hope you will be able to recruit and refresh your troops sufficiently for the movement proposed in my letter of the 11th. . . . From your account of the position of the enemy, I think it would be difficult for you to engage him in time to reunite with this army in the battle for Richmond. Fremont and Shields are apparently retrograding, their troops shaken and disorganized; some time will be required to set them again in the field. If this be so, the sooner you unite with this army the better. . . . In moving your troops you could let it be understood that it was to pursue the enemy in your front. Dispose those to hold the Valley so as to deceive the enemy. . . ."

with the troops coming to join Jackson. The news was spread through the town (Harrisonburg), and in the midst of the excitement consequent upon it the Federal officers were returned to their own lines, their request having been declined.⁸⁰ The Confederate lines were made as close as possible to prevent information getting through, and all passing was prohibited.⁸¹ These and such like were the "significant demonstration" which caused Gen. Fremont to retreat until he finally joined Banks's troops at Middletown, on June 24. They were thoroughly effective, for Gen. Banks telegraphed to Washington on the 12th that "Jackson is heavily reinforced and is advancing," and on the 19th he says: "No doubt another immediate movement down the Valley is intended with a force of thirty thousand (30,000) or more." He opposed the withdrawal of Shields strongly, in the same telegram. On the 22d he is still on the alert for Jackson's and Ewell's movements, and on the 28th, when Jackson was fighting at Richmond, Banks telegraphs that he believes Jackson meditates an attack in the Valley!⁸²

Gen. McDowell had been ordered⁸³ as early as June 8 to collect his forces with a view to resuming his march by way of Fredericksburg to join McClellan, but in consequence of the victories of Cross Keys and Port Republic, and of the strong

⁸⁰ Dabney, p. 432, etc. Gen. Jackson says, in a despatch to Col. Munford, June 13: "Please impress the bearers of the flag of truce as much as possible with an idea of a heavy advance on our part, and let them return under such impression." (See Paper of Col. Munford in Southern Historical Papers, November, 1879.)

⁸¹ In despatches dated June 17, Jackson says to Col. Munford: "Do all you can to cut off communication across the lines between us and the enemy; also let there be as little communication as practicable between your command and that of the infantry. Let your couriers be men whom you can trust, and caution them against carrying news forward, as it may reach the enemy." Again: "I will be at Mount Sidney to-night about ten o'clock. Can you meet me there? I will be on my horse at the north end of the town, so you need not inquire after me. I do not desire it to be known that I am absent from this point. . . . Say to those who come on this side (the lines) that for a few days they will have to remain on this side, as no one is permitted to pass the lines to the enemy's side." (See Col. Munford's Paper.)

⁸² See Federal official telegrams, adjutant-general's office, Washington.

⁸³ McDowell's testimony, Report on Conduct of the War, Part I. p. 275.

conviction wrought in the minds of Fremont and Banks of another advance by Jackson, he was delayed in getting his troops out of the Valley; and when they did move, it was towards Manassas, and not Richmond. Rickett's division left Front Royal for Manassas on the 17th of June, and it was followed by Shields's.

On this same day Jackson, having disposed of his various enemies and effected the permanent withdrawal of the greater part of McDowell's corps⁸⁴ from the forces operating against Richmond, again began to march, and, while Banks, Fremont, and McDowell were disposing their broken or baffled forces to cover Washington, hastened to throw his sword into the scale in that great series of battles which, during the last days of June and the early ones in July, resulted in the defeat of McClellan's army and the relief of the Confederate capital.

But here our present work ends. Brilliant as were the achievements of Gen. Jackson during the succeeding months of his too brief career, it was his Valley campaign which first lifted him into great fame; nor do any of his subsequent deeds show more strikingly the characteristics of his genius.

⁸⁴ The division that McDowell had left at Fredericksburg (McCall's) was sent to McClellan, but the other three divisions were retained, and became later in the summer a part of Gen. John Pope's "Army of Virginia."

NOTE

The following is a list of the officers who served during parts, or during the whole of the Valley campaign on Gen. Jackson's staff. They were not all on duty at the same time, but from the loss of the order books of the command the dates of assignment and the periods of service are in many cases not known.

As Adjutant-General	Lieut.-Col. J. T. L. Preston (to February 1, 1862). Maj. A. H. Jackson. Maj. R. L. Dabney (assigned April 24, 1862).
As Assistant Adjutant-General:	Lieut. A. S. Pendleton.
As Inspector-General:	Lieut.-Col. W. S. H. Baylor (to April 24, 1862). Col. A. Smead. Lieut. H. Kyd Douglas.
As Chief of Artillery:	Maj. D. Trueheart. Lieut.-Col. S. Crutchfield.
As Assistant to Chief of Artillery:	Lieut. Ed. Willis.
As Engineer:	Lieut. J. K. Boswell.
As Topographical Engineer:	Mr. Jed. Hotchkiss.
As Medical Director:	Surgeon Hunter McGuire.
As Acting Medical Director:	Surgeon H. Black.
As Ordnance Officer:	Lieut. Jas. M. Garnett. Lieut. H. H. Lee. Lieut. R. H. Meade.
As Chief Quartermaster:	Maj. John A. Harman.
As Acting Chief Quartermaster:	Lieut.-Col. M. G. Harman (in January, 1862). Capt. T. R. Sharp (in January, 1862).
As Chief Commissary:	Maj. Wells J. Hawks.
As Aide-de-Camp:	Lieut. A. S. Pendleton (throughout the campaign). Lieut. George G. Junkin.
(Volunteer):	Col. Charles J. Faulkener. Col. W. L. Jackson.



0 1164 0207332 8

E483.7 .S76 1977 v. 43
Southern Historical Society.
Southern Historical Society
papers.

318834

DATE

ISSUED TO

318834

